113, 101, 221, 619, 184, 565, 701, 721 Bedouin MJ4

[For information on the Bedouin see 1: Coon, Ml Middle East, cat. 116, pp. 197-204.]

21: Fisher 5-4 (no date) 1950 M1 Middle East
Bedouin MJ4

264 On occasion when supplies are plentiful the Badawin
146 eat copiously, because the time and scale of the next meal may be
147 uncertain. In general, the standard of nutrition of the Badawin is low—in the opinion of some, below the level necessary in other regions to sustain life. As a result, the Badawin are small, even stunted, and lightly built, though their physical powers and endurance are great. Life is, however, very hard; and by forty, particularly in the case of women, old age has begun. Fifty years is a long life for a nomad.

• 721 One means of supplementing the deficiencies in arid areas is by raiding. Amongst Badawin the *ghazw* (*razzia* or *rezzou*) is a recognised activity amounting almost to sport, but it also fulfils a definite economic function. The effects of a bad season are mitigated, as when rains have failed in the desert, the Bedu has a choice of taking what he requires by force from other people, or of starving. The word 'sport' has been used, because although fundamentally a serious matter, Badawin raids are conducted under certain conventions—almost, one might say, rules.[1] Rapid, unlooked-for coups, using cunning and guile, are most favoured: bloodshed is as far as possible avoided, though goods, womenfolk, and children become the property of the victors under a kind of slavery. Successful leadership in tribal raids is the means by which personal reputation and power is built up: King Ibn Saud, originally a dispossessed desert nomad, has gained absolute power in Arabia through successful tribal encounters on an increasingly large scale. Badawin raids may be directed against other tribes, but frequently, toll is levied on agricultural settlements on the fringe of the desert. Less able to resist, and with more at stake than the nomad, settled cultivators sometimes remain under permanent tribute to Badawin tribes, and supply a quantity of needed foodstuffs to their overlords. The name *khawa* (tribute of friendship) is applied to such transactions. Raiding is now declining, because of increasing control by local governments, but in addition to the political problem presented in controlling outbreaks, there is the economic factor of providing alternative occupation to ensure a livelihood.[2] Though declining, the practice is still not extinct. For as recently as 1946, J. C. Crowfoot could write, 'Arabs are now raiding each other in Fords and Chevrolets'.

[Illegible]

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[1] There are only three sources of amusement or distraction in Badawin life: conversation round a coffee hearth, family life, and raiding.

[2] Cf. the decline in population of the Barbary coastlands since the suppression of piracy in the Mediterranean. There, precisely the same economic factor was involved.

M1 Middle East
BEDOUINS MJ4

361 going in the wake of profound political, economic and social
X166 changes
178 a. political

The national governments of the Bedouin-inhabited countries, unwilling to have the tribes under their territorial jurisdiction remain as a separate social unit outside the national community, consider their permanent settlement on land absolutely essential to insure stability and progress. They are aware that, once the nomads become tied to the soil, the tribal system will begin to disintegrate and cease being a "state within a state." By controlling the Bedouin and encouraging their settlement, the administrations are putting an end to the special political status which the tribes enjoyed on the borders of the desert.

b. economic

361 With the conquest of the desert by modern means of trans-
X166 portation the camel-breeding industry of the true Bedouin has
178 been severely hit. Enforcement of public security destroyed
1133 additional sources of livelihood, such as the plunder of caravans, inter-tribal raiding and the extortion of [1] from village communities and weaker semi-nomadic tribes. Extension of cultivation in the area is rapidly limiting the wandering territory of the tribes and thus adversely affecting their traditional pastoral economy.

● 721 1. Bedouin raids are usually directed against other tribes or
728 caravans which are attacked and plundered. The toll which is frequently levied on the agricultural settlements on the fringe of the desert is called by the term khuwa, protection money.

M
648
B
131
221

the two countries, unless either of the two governments should find it necessary to restrict this freedom of movement in the interest of public order and for the reasons of economic necessity." 1)

The earlier Hadda agreement of 1925 2) mentions specifically the Wadi Sirhan. Article 4 of the Hadda Agreement reads:

> "The government of Nejd undertake to maintain all established rights, that may be enjoyed in the Wadi Sirhan by tribes not under their jurisdiction, whether such rights appertain to grazing or to habitation or to ownership, or the like. The government of Transjordan undertake to extend identical treatment to Nejd subjects who may enjoy similar established rights in Transjordan territory."

Cross-border migration of the Bedouin tribes is similarly regulated by bi-lateral treaty arrangements between Saudi Arabia and Iraq, Iraq and Syria, Syria and Turkey and wherever such custom has been established.

B
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721

In fact, the tribes seem to increase their customary radius of movement whenever necessary. In 1935, for example, a considerable number of the Iraqi Amarat tribe entered Transjordan and even penetrated the Amman region. The Amarat had been at feud with the Transjordanian tribes for centuries, and never before had they been able to cross the frontier unmolested. 3) As recently as 1927 the Amarat raided the Bounties of Transjordan, whereupon the Bounties and the Beni Sakhr counter-raided the Amarat. 4)

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1. Command Paper 2775 Treaty Series 1922 p. 313-00 1
2. Command Paper 2644
3. Report, 1935, p. 327
4. Report, 1927, p. 74

8: Neubart S-4 (no date) 1952 MI Middle East M
BEDOUINS MJ4

At the beginning of 1929 practically the whole of the powerful 221
Ruala tribe entered Iraqi territory and encamped west of the
Wadia area. The Ruala were soon followed by the Shu'a, another
great tribe of the Anazeh. These natural movements were caused
by lack of good grazing in Syria.[1]

Political boundary lines thus do not appear to have seriously 131
affected tribal mobility. On the contrary, public security has 221
evoked tribes to wander beyond their dirah into territories 659
where in the past they would not have dared to camp. The Trans-
jordanian tribes which, according to Epstein, were prevented from
migrating to the Wadi Sirhan may have feared to cross the border
line. It must be understood that states may sign agreements
which the tribes have no intention to observe.

It happened both before and after the establishment of 221
frontiers that Transjordan nomads were attacked and plundered 721
in their Wadi Sirhan grazing areas by hostile tribes of Hejaz.
Due to the frequency of such occurrences the tribes customarily
moving for the winter to the Wadi Sirhan were not forced by the
authorities to disarm because their lives and possessions could
not be protected by British and Local forces while away from
Transjordan territory.[2]

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1. Report, 1929a, pp. 35-36
2. Report, 1930, p. 139

648 Political authorities have made no serious efforts to interfere with tribal migrations which follow the law of economic need. The governments stopped raiding, but not grazing.

221 With the establishment of public security, tribal movements have been facilitated where fears of attack may have prevented them before.[1]

Economics of raiding, plunder and extortion as affecting Bedouin economy

721 434 Raids fulfilled a definite economic function in Bedouin society. Especially in times of drought, the booty taken in raids contributed, according to the Bedouin way of thinking a welcome means of income. In reality, however, the desert people did not suffer a great economic loss from the stoppage of raiding. In speaking of raiding Major Glubb correctly states that "some lament this, some were ruined; there is a net loss on the whole."[2]

More significant was the economic loss incurred to the Bedouin when imposition of tribute was enforced.

434 131 The economic situation of the Bedouin on the whole was not seriously affected by the establishment of political boundary lines and enforcement of public security. Economic adjustments were made within the pastoral economy where the decline of the demand for the camel made this necessary.

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1. However, in spite of the vigorous actions of the Saudi regime raiding in the Arabian Desert has not yet been completely stopped.
2. Glubb, 1935, p. 22

COOperating.

361 A decisive change in the opposite direction occurred in the
241 economic structure of the Beni'ata when their Shaikha Alias
721 Shu-fat and Sabah Abu-Tayy evinced more interest in settling them
to pursue agricultural pursuits. In a short time the Beni'ata
became one of the most warlike tribes in North Arabia and the
Syrian Desert. Cultivation was discarded, the tribes scattered
their forces to Palestine and Transjordan, and they themselves roamed
the desert.[1]

X166 Since the end of the First World War the Beni'ata have been
241 returning to the land. The tribesmen again engaged in the agri-
cultural work, and their transition to a completely settled exist-
ence should not be difficult to accomplish.

422 By 1928 all sections of the Beni Sakr[2] were settled on their
X166 land, in that year 3 000 Wild Asses having been issued to the
241 tribal militaries.[3] In the drought years of 1930 and 1931 the
flocks of the Beni Sakr were severely hit. Like the situation
among all the big tribes of Transjordan, the Beni Sakr were
economically poised, but while them they were willing to take up
cultivation. Government financial assistance was requested to
enable the tribe to develop its fertile lands, but no constructive
help was forthcoming.

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1. Alois Aucamp observed the Beni'ata in 1928 after they had resumed their nomadic existence. He his statement that "the Beni'ata after their journey towards is observed" (The Bedouin never touched the plow) Ed. Aucamp, 1928, p. 241) is incorrect.
2. The Beni Sakr have about 800 tents and dwell in 'Ajlun, one of the most fertile parts of Transjordan. They own about 272 000 dunums of land.
3. Report, 1928, p. 177

it Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins M34

XXV

Honour among Thieves

AT DEYR-EZ-ZOR I was eventually able to arrange for the transfer of the young stallion to Egypt by way of Aleppo and Beyruth. It was a tremendous journey, as it had to be done on its own feet; but by slow stages the Arab, who accompanied the horse, succeeded in delivering him in good condition to my friends in Egypt. 000

Meanwhile Ali and I roamed further afield and rode to the pasture-grounds of the Fid'an, then camped at the northern foot of the Bishri Mountains, west of the Euphrates. There, also, the tent of Mijhem ibn Meheyd was pitched, and he received us hospitably. We spent several pleasant days with him.

He then led his tribe southwards into the Wudian area, east of the Hamad. We accompanied them through the Jabal Bishri and camped with them south of these hills. There I decided to say farewell to Ibn Meheyd, and bade Ali buy three especially strong *dhaluls* (racing-camels) and two mares. With Ali alone, and these animals, I struck through the Hamad desert, to make my way to the Ruala and to Damascus. On the first day we fell in with a small caravan of four men with twenty-odd camels and six stallions. [221] 443 [492]

From this combination alone (for Bedouins never ride stallions on a raid) it was clear they were peaceful travellers. In fact, they were *Akheyl* or camel-traders from Inner Arabia, who had purchased camels and young [721]

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins MJ4

443 stallions from various Bedouin tribes in the Euphrates. Their kind is found everywhere in Arabia, Egypt, Syria, and Iraq. Almost invariably the *Akhayl* hail from Anayza and Buraida, two large oasis-towns of Kasim in the heart of Arabia.

[437] During spring they[1] travel among the nomad Arabs and barter rice, coffee, sugar, arms, munitions, and gold [493 177] for camels and colts. Bedouins have only begun to sell mares since the arrival of the automobile, which has displaced the horse for raiding purposes.

These traders travel unmolested throughout Arabia and they pay the *sheykh* of the tribe from which they purchase animals a small sum for the privilege of pursuing their business. Each trader has his own special tribe which he visits every year.

●721 On the second day, when we came on some rain water left in the rocky hollows of a *wadi*, we decided to rest awhile and let our mares drink their fill. We had hardly dismounted when two strange Bedouins on horseback suddenly appeared. Ali jumped on his mare's back at once, and deserting me and our animals, galloped away in the opposite direction from which the Bedouins had come, obviously seeking cover.

"A *ghazu!*" he yelled, as he rode away.

The two strange Bedouins were armed. They were obviously not traders, as Ali had immediately perceived. More horsemen appeared and they began to fire at Ali and myself. My "Powerful" protector, ducking low over [291] his horse's neck, made a comical picture. The hostile Bedouins were Fid'an, as I knew from their striped shepherd's cloaks. To defend ourselves was useless, as we

1-[The Akhayl or camel and horse traders --Analyst]

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins 9 JH

were surrounded. I threw my rifle on the ground and, dropping my arms with the palms turned outwards, I gave the Ghazu horsemen to understand that we meant to offer no resistance. When they came within hearing I shouted to them: 721

"We are *dakhil* (inviolable). We ride under the countenance of thy *sheykh* and our brother Mijhem ibn Meheyd."

But neither the leader nor his men took notice, but seized Ali (whom they had easily caught) and myself, and struck us for not taking off our clothing quickly enough. As Ali was being stripped, he cried to their leader:

"Hast thou no pity, plundering the friends of thy *sheykh* like this?" The man only laughed and said mockingly:

"I know not of whom thou speakest. We know nobody, and pity we have left to God alone."

"Thou wilt be answerable for this act," Ali shouted. "Hasten thou to return our property, our horses and camels, and take thy hands from off my friend, the guest of thy master."

In answer, the leader flung away the garment, the pockets of which he was rifling, seized his rifle and with its butt hit Ali such a blow on the back of his head that he fell as dead, and remained inert on the ground. The Fid'an's savage temper was aroused, and he continued to belabour the prostrate body with blows and kicks.

I sprang at the brute and tried to pull him away. One of his comrades, however, thrust his rifle into my back. I staggered, and before I could regain my balance, a

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins M34

721 hefty blow nearly broke my arm. The same blow caught me a glancing stroke on the head, hard enough to knock me out. I must have remained unconscious for hours. When I came to, the evening was already fading into twilight, and I found myself lying stark naked on the sand. Happily, it had not been a hot day, for the sky was clouded. Nevertheless, I felt wretched enough, and my head and arm ached. The blow had merely grazed the muscles of my arm, but I had a nasty wound over my temple.

Not far from me Ali was lying on his back. To my horror, he looked quite dead.

Still numb, I tottered over to him. Thank heaven, he was very much alive and able to talk. The Fid'an had handled him worse than me, but his unfailing good humour was already returning. "They have taken everything from me," he said, "except their cursed lice"; and he commenced to scratch himself all over his naked body, protesting the while that he had left Aleppo quite clean.

"The sunburns are itching," I said, with a laugh; "it cannot be the vermin of our friends."

In the deepening dark, I noticed that a fire was burning behind a rise in the ground several hundred yards away, and I concluded that the Fid'an were camping there.

577 Ali was still feeling too weak to walk with me, and I made my way alone to the fire. As I came near, I recognized the Fid'an sitting round the coffee-hearth.

"Dakhil! Protection!" I cried out.

One of the Bedouins sprang up, rifle in hand. He made

li Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins 1434

meekly handed over the watch, which Ali put on his own wrist. "Let me take care of it for thee," he said to me, in his protective manner. He is actually "taking care" of my watch to this very day!

Our Fid'an hosts numbered seventeen horsemen and eight camel-riders, who had come on the scene after the attack on us. A gang of typical desert outlaws.

At the evening meal they spread a large leather camel-saddle cover for a tablecloth. Previously the dough for our bread had been kneaded on it. At other times it served as manger and watering-trough for the horses and camels, for it could be suspended by leather loops, one at each of the four corners.

The *Akid* poured sour camels' milk from a goat skin into a wooden basin and handed it round. The few *dhalul* were lying close to us. The red campfire threw a glow of light over them and their long shadows melted into the blackness of the night. For a moment I imagined myself surrounded by strange monsters.

When I closed my eyes and heard only the belching and grunting of my table-companions, I could scarcely distinguish them from the camels chewing the cud. And Ali was the noisiest feeder of them all!

Next morning the Fid'ans proposed that they should join us with the idea of entering Ruala territory and lifting some camels. Nothing remained for Ali and myself but to make the best of these unwelcome proposals. We had to endure their company in the pious hope that somewhere we should fall in with the Ruala Bedouins.

Two days later we camped at the well of Al-Hajal,

12 Glubb G-2 (1930-1940) 1961 MGI Jordan

and shouted, though with his rifle still at the ready, "Wesh enta? (What are you?)" The strangers were thrown into some confusion, but one of them slipped from his camel and advanced on Qasim, also with his rifle ready. Both men had their kerchiefs tied over their faces, so that only their eyes were visible. They advanced towards one another intently and cautiously, like fighting cocks waiting for an opening. "Wa ent wesh ent?" replied the other. ("And you, who are you?") The rest of the other party had couched their camels out of sight in another hollow. They did not look like raiders, but I could not but hold my breath as the two advanced towards one another. Then suddenly the tension relaxed. "Dhana Muslim, sons of Muslim," said the other man—it was the name of the division of Aneizah of which the Ruwallah formed part. Qasim lowered his rifle.

"Are you Ubaid?"

"You're Qasim."

"Keif ent? (How are you?)"

"God bless you."

"May you be well!"

"How are the boys?"

The two ragged, bearded ruffians slowly kissed one another, first on one cheek and then on the other.

"How are you?"

"God keep you."

"May God bless that face."

We stood up. The members of the other party advanced, reassured, dragging their camels by their head-ropes. Such were the daily incidents of desert life. Ten years later the Iraq Petroleum Company's pipeline passed this way, a pumping station had been built in this waste, and English ladies were taking their tea out for a picnic in these stony valleys. That ten years was to see the passing of an era.

Meanwhile Qasim ash Shemam was becoming increasingly domineering and threatening. He regarded us with ill-concealed contempt, as might an old deep-sea fisherman a couple of landlubbers who had never been to sea before. He repeatedly informed us that he was courting a girl, whom he shortly hoped to

11: Glubb G-3 (1930-1946) 1948 MG1 Jordan
BLOOMS M54

After the first shyness had disappeared, conversation became free and general. The growing danger from the Ikhwan was anxiously debated—a raiding party had recently been seen at the well of Garagir, only a few miles south of Kaf. It was at this same well that Khalid ibn al Waleed had watered 1,300 years before, during the first Muslim invasion of Syria. Then, to forget the fears and anxieties of the day-to-day world, the one-stringed violin was brought out, and with a fresh round of tea began the poetry and music. In Central Arabia there is a story to every poem, and before reciting the ballad itself, the story should be told. One of the best stories told that night was the tale of Ibn Hadi's daughter.

Two of the most powerful tribes of Central Arabia are Ateiba and Qahtan, whose shaikhs, Ibn Humaid and Ibn Hadi, used in the old days to be perpetually at war. Once upon a time the then Ibn Hadi had a beautiful daughter, who resolutely refused to marry any of the numerous suitors who presented themselves for her hand. Ibn Humaid, head of the rival tribe, was a young man and a famous raider, and had carried plunder and devastation through the camps and flocks of Qahtan. His prowess was the talk of every camp and fireside in Nejd. In Ibn Hadi's tent many long and anxious debates were held to discuss how to resist the daring assaults of Ibn Humaid and Ateiba, and the Qahtan shaikhs swore to sacrifice a camel each as a thank-offering if their relentless enemy should ever fall into their hands. One day, yet another suitor presented himself at the tent of Ibn Hadi to solicit the hand of his daughter, and her father came to consult her. But she rejected the proposal contemptuously, and swore that she would never marry at all, unless her suitor were a bedouin shaikh, who was at the same time the most gallant in war, the most generous, the most handsome and the most witty of the Arabs. The suitor retired discomfited.

But a Sulubbi, a tinker of Arabia, a member of that menial tribe the members of which pass from camp to camp unmolested even in war-time, had overheard the conversation. "Ya amaimati! (My little Aunt)," he whined, "there is only one man who answers the description you have given, and that is Ibn Humaid." "Oh, if only I could once see him," said the daughter of Ibn Hadi.

12: Glubb G-3 (1939-1948) 1948 MG1 Jordan MG1
BROWNS MSS

I decided, in spite of my reception, to stay for the night in the Beni Sakhr tents, both in the hope that more intimate acquaintance would overcome this inauspicious beginning and also to learn more about the Beni Sakhr, a tribe which I had never met before. The shaikh in the car drove off after lunch, and by the time we had had dinner and were sitting in a circle round the fire, the atmosphere had become more cordial.

Sitting over the coffee-pots, I noticed a long, slim, dark-complexioned youth, with those fine features which distinguish a certain type of Nejdi nomad, and which were in contrast to the fairer complexions and thicker build of the Beni Sakhr. When an opportunity offered, I enquired about his origin, and was told that he came of the tribe of Mutair. My work in southern Iraq had brought me into contact with this tribe, though usually as enemy raiders, and I knew the names of their leaders and the geography of their country. The boy's face glowed with pleasure when he heard once more the names of his tribesmen and the news of their latest raiding exploits. He then told me his story.

He had joined a large raiding party which had attacked Trans-Jordan the year before, and which included several war banners of Mutair. A Beni Sakhr camp had been surprised and overwhelmed at dawn, and many killed. During the battle, he was hit by a bullet and fell unconscious from the back of his camel. When he recovered consciousness, he felt very cold. He looked around him. It appeared to be shortly after dawn, but the sun had not risen yet. He was stark naked and lying on the ground, with corpses and dead animals strewn around. A short way from where he lay were some black bedouin tents, from which a few wisps of smoke showed that the occupants were already awake. Shivering with cold, dazed and weak, he staggered towards the nearest tent. A man was kneeling in the tent with his back to him, blowing up the embers of a fire.

When the wounded boy was some ten paces from the tent, the man looked round. With a savage cry he sprang to his feet, snatched a rifle and ran towards him. But in his excitement he fumbled with the bolt and safety-catch. The naked Mutairi staggered past him and embraced the tent pole. "I am under the protection of this house," he cried. The Sakhri threw his rifle

A Dickson G-6 (1929-47) 1941 Ad I Kuwait
Bedouins 1434

The Badawin's Code

Chap. III

A man's first duty is towards God.
His second, the protection of his next neighbour (*jaar*).
His third, attention to the laws of Hospitality (*diyafa*).
His fourth, his duty towards a traveller under his conduct (*rafig*).
His fifth, attention to the laws of Personal Protection and Sanctuary (*wajh* and *dakhala*.)
His sixth and last is to himself: to raid when he can and keep what he has captured (*ghazuh*).

It is noteworthy that in fulfilling this last duty he thinks of it as a sort of reward for what has gone before. Raiding is no sin, but a virtue, and to kill your enemy a still greater virtue. Therefore, to steal your enemy's cattle is not robbery but an exploit to be proud of. Your enemy will do the same to you to-morrow if he gets the chance. (See Chapter VII.)

THE BADAWIN WOMAN (*Badawiyah*)

Taking the good with the bad, the Badawin woman is nearly all charm, the natural charm of an unspoiled daughter of Eve, who knows nothing of the world, and little of town life except from hearsay.

She has very much of the child about her; all the delightfulness and all the unreasonableness of a child.

She is prone to sudden storms of rage, and will sulk without apparent reason. She is full of jealousy, and will love and hate with passion and ferocity, yet she can be the gentlest of beings and is capable of great sacrifice. She adores her children, though she has no idea of teaching them discipline or self-control; she will fly at her husband, if he attempts to punish their child, and will go off the deep end if her husband does not sleep close by her side (*ma yargud wiyha*) every night.

Badawin unmarried girls are, of course, debarred from any male society or male friendships outside the circle of their own immediate families, but married women have far more freedom than their town sisters, and can be on delightfully friendly terms with males of their own *taifa* or *hamula*. They have strong ideas of propriety, and are sensitive to a degree about their reputation. The most dreadful thing in the world that can happen to them is to be talked

h Dickson G-6 (1939-47) 1961 Mil I Kuwait
Bedouins 1956

already gone ahead to spy out the land, the grazing and the water. Assuming that there is no enemy near or danger imminent, the baggage-camels and women folk follow fairly close on their heels. After the women and camp gear, the herds of camels and sheep follow on a broad front, slowly grazing along till they reach their new camp. There they find everything ready and the tents pitched. A strong guard is, of course, left with the herds. As in the case of the individual tent owner, the shaikh decides on where the camp is to be, and on the spot where he kneels his camel and *gift*-saddles, his own tent will be pinched.

A tribe in camp is not concertinaed up but scatters out over a wide space, each group of family tents being about two hundred yards from its neighbour if the ground is broken, and possibly four hundred yards apart in flat open ground. Hence a body of Badawin having, say, four hundred tents will cover a wide area when camped. This is the procedure in winter or spring when no enemy is about and likely to attack. In summer, on the other hand, when the tribe is camped on water, it literally surrounds the wells with tents, leaving only sufficient space for the camels and sheep to drink. Tents on such occasions are close together and generally in a series of lines, with tent ropes almost touching those of their neighbours. The widely scattered camp formation of winter may make it difficult for the fighting men to concentrate suddenly, but is ideal for passive defence. A sudden surprise raid cannot penetrate deeply into such a camp, as each tent becomes a small fort from which fire is directed on the intruders, who soon find themselves fired on from all sides. (The German pill-box system during the first Great War proved the efficacy of the method.) Badawin methods of fighting are discussed in Chapter XXVI.

NOTE.—

Asuds—the man who goes ahead to look for best grazing ground.

Sallaf—the leader of the tribe or head of family on the march. He always rides alone at head.

Makkás—is name given to the family baggage-camels as opposed to *Al Abi'ir*, milch and loose camels on march.

Al Ghanam—the sheep on the march.

Al Bolam—the lambs who march separate from the ewes.

I Dickson G-6 (1929-47) 1951 941 I Rowett
Bookstore 1954

so, and the type may be called, for lack of a better description, Badawin in the transition stage to a more settled existence.

These 'Arabdar, certainly in Kuwait, usually have large flocks of sheep, and only a few camels to give them milk and move their tents as they follow the grazing. Many of them are of good Shariff stock such as 'Ajman, Mutair, 'Utaiba and Harb 'Arabdar; and their members go and come from the towns to their original tribes, and regularly intermarry with their desert cousins.

The good 'Arabdawi is not necessarily looked down upon by the pure Badawin, especially if he is of good stock, but the latter undoubtedly think him rather a soft sort of semi-townsman, who has grown rich in the service of a town ruler, and prefers the flesh-pots of *hadhar* life to the real hardships of the desert. They, the 'Arabdawi, are in short a sort of half-Badawin, to be made use of by the pure-bred article, when the latter comes up to town to purchase his needs. The Arabdawi is also a useful go-between in business transactions involving sheep and camels, and at all times is rather proud to act as host and put up his Badawin brother who asks for a night's lodging in the city.

Arabaw al Bada, is a common cry heard among the 'Arabdawis of Kuwait, yet they get prestige and honour among their neighbours, whenever they put up these desert cousins, especially their shaikhs. These half-Badawin 'Arabdar are generally peaceful, for war does not pay them. As their wealth lies in their sheep rather than in their camels, there is no inducement for them to raid, and lift other people's camels, the temptation *par excellence* of the Badawin rider, who is himself so vulnerable. Nevertheless, the 'Arabdawi is an excellent fighting man if it comes to supporting his shaikh or defending the town he depends on.

There is yet another desert dweller who must not be confused with either the pure Badawin nomad, or his 'Arabdar cousin. This is the tribal desert shepherd, whose job in life is to care for the sheep either of the town dwellers or of the more well-to-do tribal shaikhs. As sheep cannot keep pace with camel migrations, and the areas in which they can graze are much more circumscribed or narrowly defined than those wandered over by the camel tribes, a class of shepherds has evolved, who move in areas of their own, but who are allied to

father or the son (the girl's brother) has to kill her to wipe out the dishonour. If her father is dead and she has no brother, then her *walad 'am*, a male cousin on her father's side, must take action and do the deed.

Between *hawi 'am* certain actions are taboo. For instance, a man must never seize and bind one of his *'awam* even though he be a thief. Nor must he, if on the warpath, attack his *'awam* by a dawn attack or raid him after midnight. It is *'aib* (disgraceful) to do this.

Between *hawi 'am* the generally agreed price of a man killed (*'idiya*) is fixed at 50 camels, a man, and a rifle. The payment of these settles the blood feud. Should an outsider, however, slay a man there is a different scale, and should he kill an important shaikh such as the Al Subah, Al Sa'id, Al Dunian, Al Sha'alan, then only blood can expiate the crime. See Chapter XLII.)

WALAD 'AM

(1) *Walad 'Am*—father's brother's son (first cousin—male on father's side).

BINT 'AM

(1) *Bint 'Am*—father's brother's daughter (first cousin—female—on father's side). See also Chapter VIII.

A man always has the right to marry *bit bint 'am*, and no man, not even his parents or the girl's parents, can deny him this right.

Should he voluntarily forgo it, he will give the girl a paper, saying that he does not want her. The whole idea of this first-cousin marriage is protective, and is designed to keep the family intact. A girl knows from earliest childhood that her future husband will be her *walad 'am*. She cannot evade such marriage unless her cousin waives his right or allows another man to purchase this right from him. This latter procedure is not common.

On the whole, this first-cousin marriage works well. It at least insures a girl a husband, as soon as she comes of age to marry. Among more civilised Arabs it has led to much abuse, and brothers have prevented their sisters marrying lest they take property out of the immediate family. This fraternal tyranny has frequently been exercised among the Al Sa'adun shaikhs in Iraq.

A. Dickson G-S (1929-47) 1951 MI I Kuwait
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621 favor, though the *gasir* will be well advised, if he can get hold of the shaikh of his protector's tribe, to kill a camel and invite him to a public meal. The shaikh will then see that everyone knows that the stranger is now under the tribe's protection.

The new tent-neighbour becomes, as it were, the guest of the particular Badawin who has given him permission to camp near him as his *gasir*. He is henceforth an *'aziz* (a dear one), and like the *rafiq* or *khawi*, he enjoys special privileges and is not subjected to the rules and regulations of the protector's tribe, and the "*gasir's* stick is now his sword" (*'asa-hu saif*).

The Badawin householder must protect the *gasir* against all comers, and in return the *gasir* must protect his benefactor against any raiders, even raiders of his own tribe.

Any cases or complaints now lodged against the *gasir* must be preferred through the person protecting him. "Sue me," says the protector, "but not my *gasir*, for I am in his place."

628 If any animal or thing is stolen from the *gasir's* tent, and the latter
672 complains to his protector, the protector must either find the stolen animal or article, or make it good.

Should a stranger, or even one of his own relatives or tribesmen, insult a woman of his *gasir's* tent and she cries out for help, the protector must immediately respond and come to aid her, whether her husband is with her or not. If the protector happens to kill the person insulting or harming the woman, he is not liable to pay blood money (*'idiyat*), nor is he exposed to any penalties from the slain man's relatives. On the contrary, the murdered man's kin must themselves pay any blood money due, as it was one of them who outraged the tent of a *gasir*. Public opinion in the desert will always make an offender pay up.

629 If raiders attack a man's *gasir* and carry off camels and mares, the
721 protector must make these good from booty he himself will capture in the next successful raid he engages in.

If the camels are stolen by camel thieves and a neighbouring tribe is suspected, the protector must himself join in the search and hire men to spy them out (*bil asa*) at his own expense.

If a *gasir* happens to kill a man of his protector's tribe, and then comes to his protector's tent and asks his help, the latter must help

b Dickson G-6 (1929-47) 1951 Mss I Kuwait
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him to make his escape to safety, if necessary calling in all his own family for the purpose. Or if the *guda* says he will pay blood money in settlement, then the protector must protect him until the negotiations are put through.

If a *guda*'s tribe declares war on his protector's tribe, and later the *guda*'s camels are captured by raiders belonging to the protector's tribe, then the latter is absolved from returning the camels and vice versa, unless both protector and his *guda* make public declaration before their respective shaikhs that they are tent-neighbours (*gsawa*) and each will make good any damage suffered by the other party. If, then, the tribe of either party accidentally or purposely captures camels or mares from either of the men, they must return the loot when asked to do so.

The protector must make this public declaration to his own shaikh in person, and if the *guda* cannot get through himself he must send neutral messengers to his own shaikh and people and do likewise.

Should the protector have in his employ a stranger Bedawin to herd his camels or sheep, and raiders of the herdsman's tribe suddenly appear and carry off the herd, then because the man in charge is their own fellow-tribesman the raiders must restore three she-camels to the herdsman, one for riding on and two for milking.

Certain desert tribes, notably the Dhafir, are particularly proud of the name they have won for protecting their tent-neighbours. They have become famous in this respect, as the following stories will show. (The chief actors in both cases were well known to me, though Hamud al Suwait has now been dead some years.)

The uncle of Hamud al Suwait, the Shaikh of all the Dhafir tribe, once threatened in public *majlis*, to impale himself on his sword which he had drawn for the purpose, unless *his own son* were brought before him and slain in his presence, because the son had killed his tent-neighbour in the heat of a foolish quarrel. The various members of the family tried hard to shield the youth, but realising that the old shaikh was in deadly earnest, Hamud al Suwait (he became shaikh after his uncle's death two years later) himself seized the boy and with his own hand cut him down before the eyes of his father. Thus was tribal honour satisfied. This incident happened in 1912, and was told

b Dickson G-6 (1939-47) 1951 MS I Kuwait
Bi-Annotation 1954

Philby and the Milk

Chap. XXII

During our talk I discovered that not content with sitting in Najran, Suwaiyan had from there raided south-east as far as Hadhramaut and Dhofar, and had lifted camels from the dreaded Sa'ar and Kasib tribes. He himself had brought back five camels as *shaufi*, two of which he showed me outside his tent. They were small brown things, with much less bone than their Hasa brothers. Rather remarkable, I thought, seeing camels raided from Hadhramaut grazing in Kuwait! The same Suwaiyan, I was told, had penetrated into Sana, the capital of Yaman, alone as a spy, and had got back safely. 721

Whilst we were talking, there entered the tent Rashid bin Fahad, cousin of Philby's chief guide and leader on the famous march across the Rub' al Khali. He had many stories to tell of Philby and of the famous milk incident. "What would you," he said, "the she-camel (*nafat*) would not give her milk the evening Hilby* wanted his drink. Camels are like that, you cannot force them to give their milk. *Allah i salmu*, he Hilby, did not understand, and thought the Badawin of the party had drunk his milk." 000

Philby's friend Falah abu Ja'sha got into serious trouble in August 1935. He was apparently commander of an escort on the Kuwait frontier, which was told off to conduct a Rashidi prisoner from Jeriyah 'Ilya to Hufuf. The prisoner's crime was stealing two Shei[illegible] camels from near Riyadh and making off with them to the Kuwait frontier. 737 [illegible]

When nearing Hufuf, the prisoner cleverly escaped while the escort slept during the heat of the day. Though manacled, he contrived to collect his escort's rifles and ammunition, placed them on one of the camels and got right away to Kuwait and Iraq. He sportingly sent back the rifles and camels to their owners, through a woman living in Kuwait, and by the hand of one Nazzal of the 'Awamra (Rashaida).

As a punishment for his negligence the late Amir 'Abdulla bin Jiluwi, Governor of Hasa, is reported to have ordered that Falah abu Ja'sha's beard, or rather half of it, should be shaved off every Friday for a whole month.

* Mr. Philby is known among the Badawin as 'Abdulla Hilby.

CHAPTER XXVI

Badawin Warfare

Raiding is the breath of life to the Badawin. Prevent him from raiding and he becomes the most melancholy of men.

Just as in the civilised West men must have his various sports, football, cricket, tennis, shooting, etc., to keep himself fit and happy, so in Arabia the primitive Badawin must have his raids. These denote to him everything that is manly and sporting.

A famous raider is honoured above all men, and boys and young men pine for the day when they will be allowed to accompany their elders on forays, and so win their spurs.

Raiding brings out all that is hard, brave and skilful in man, so the occupation is honoured and encouraged, just as everything tending to make a man soft and effeminate is despised by all true desert men.

Desert raids do not as a rule entail much bloodshed. Raiders are primarily inspired by greed for camels, and with this goes the desire to score off their enemies. To lift an enemy's camels is the best way of all to hurt him and add to the raider's own stock, for a Badawin values his camels above everything.

There is no such thing in ordinary desert warfare as men fighting "to the death" or making a "last stand" in defence of wives, children and stock. That would be merely foolish. The Badawin appreciates at once the odds against him. If he knows he can drive off the raider he will stand and do so; if, on the other hand, he sees that he has no chance, he will desert family and camels and bolt into the desert to live to fight another day. He knows his women and children will be safe, why then risk certain death by fighting against odds? He allows his camels to be taken knowing his turn will come another day. *Nakhud wa nowakhid* (We take and are ourselves taken) is his creed.

This is no reflection on the Badawin's courage. He is a brave man, but he has no false notions of standing up against an obviously superior force till he is killed.

126 If he sees that the odds are even, and the raiders are about as strong as he, he will fight, and fight superbly, encouraged by the cries of his women. In the case of the 'Ajman and 'Awazim, he is often helped by his womenfolk who bring him ammunition, water, etc. Women have been known to display remarkable indifference to danger and bullets on these occasions. It is only when he has no chance (and years of this sort of warfare have trained him to size up such a situation quickly), that the Badawin considers discretion the better part of valour.

127 A Badawin's passion is his camel, and if he has lost one by raid, or by simple theft, he will not rest till he has discovered where it is and what shaikh, individual, or tribe has got it in his possession. He has many methods of finding this out, the most common being by the system of *khuwa*, i.e. payment of money to a neutral to go and spy out the land and locate his animal.

As raids are often carried out from a great distance, this process of running down the raiders or camel thieves often takes many weary months. I have known camels which have been taken from near Kuwait located near Jauf, Riyâdh, Hâ'il and Hail—each place over 500 miles away. If the raiders are known enemies, time is not wasted trying to locate stolen animals, counter-raid is promptly resorted to till a man gets his own back and more. If the raiders are unknown, or have worked a night surprise, then of course they must be discovered and the camels located, before counter-measures are taken. If peace reigns in the land, the discovered camels will be applied for and recovered by the laws of *'Urfa* (see Chapter XXXIII).

Stealing wandering camels, even though the owners are not at war with a man's tribe, is not wrong—it is merely clever, and a man finding a stray camel will not hesitate to pinch it, and take it along to his home. If the owner finds it eventually, it will be handed over, but if he does not, then so much the better. The 'Ajman and Dhafir are particularly fond of this game.

71 454 In Sa'udi Arabia the strong arm of Ibn Sa'ud has done much to stop indiscriminate raiding and stealing, and this perhaps more than anything else has been responsible for that Ruler's unpopularity to-day. "If you stop us raiding you stop our source of life," says the Badawin, "for we have neither crops nor palm trees, nor are we shop keepers able to sell goods and make money." Not only is this state-

h Dickson O-6 (1959-67) 1951 MI I Kuwait
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more true, but the situation is yearly getting worse, especially since the motor car has practically killed the camel export trade of Arabia. Thirty years ago many hundred thousand camels were annually sold to Egypt, North Africa, Palestine, Syria, Turkey, Iraq and Persia, and brought money to the Badawin world.

Ibn Sa'ud realises the Badawin's grievance in this respect, but steadfastly refuses to sanction indiscriminate raiding, which tends to disrupt his kingdom. He tried to counter the evil by giving subsidies to high and low in the Badawin world, and rewarding all who come to visit him and pay respects. He no doubt hopes in time to get round the danger by developing the mineral wealth of his country, notably oil and gold. But will he succeed?

DECLARATION OF WAR

Should war be imminent between two tribes or primitive Arab States, there are regular rules which have to be observed. There must be a proper and honourable declaration of hostilities. The word *niga* is used to denote a declaration of war. It is never used between individuals. The offended tribe, either by letter or verbal message, informs the tribe it wishes to fight that *niga* has been sent them. This literally means the "warning of war". It is bad form and contrary to Arab honour to start a war by means of a surprise attack. *Niga* is the opposite of *hidna*, which means "cessation of war". *Aliag* means a "truce". The expression *Mawdud al niga 'alaikum* is the official warning of war, and was commonly heard in the desert in the old days.

I am told that in August 1933 when H.M. King Ibn Sa'ud declared war on Yaman, the Imam Yahya sent the King a letter with the following words, *Mawdud al niga 'alaikum, wa waladna Saif al Islam Ahmad yuwalikum* (The war warning is sent you and my son, Saif al Islam Ahmad, will come to you). Ibn Sa'ud is reported to have sent reply, "Your son is welcome. We also have a son Sa'ud, who will be pleased to meet him on arrival." The tale certainly was brought me by some Badawin friends from Riyadh, though the wording of the messages may have been the result of a too keen imagination.

When a tribe sends a challenge of *niga* to another, it is sometimes the custom to add by word of mouth or letter, that "such and such a

L Dickson G-S (1929-47) 1951 MI I Kuwait
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renowned warrior will also be coming up against you". The shaikh of the challenged tribe then calls together his warriors and elders and gives them the news of the declaration of war. He then fills a cup of coffee and calls out, "This cup stands for such and such warrior on the other side, who of you will drink it? Who will take him on in single combat?" A local brave who thinks to win his spurs will call out, "I am ready", and the cup is passed to him to drink. Similarly champions are found for every other well-known enemy warrior named as coming up against them.

Eventually when the battle is about to be joined, the opposing champions of each side come out, and after cavorting about and showing off on their horses' paces, will engage in single combat with their opposite numbers.

Hāji 'Abdullah Fathil* told me that he saw such an incident among the Dhafir (from whom he took his present wife) some years ago. The Shammar and 'Anizah, like the Dhafir, are also fond of issuing challenges to their enemy to single combat before battle.

CONCENTRATING FOR WAR OR A BIG RAID

Firstly it should be remembered that, as I have already explained, though every tribe admits the paramountcy of a certain section or *hamula* of the tribe as the one that always provides the shaikh (such as the Hithlain, Dushan or Suwait), it will only agree to follow that particular shaikh who possesses what they term the necessary "Luck" or "Good Fortune" in war. For instance, the Muntir always followed Faisal al Duwish in the past, because he proved himself times without number to be a "lucky" general. Had he not had this reputation the tribe would have selected another member of the Dushan clan and discarded Faisal.

Secondly, the chieftain of a tribe cannot simply send messages to the various sections of the tribe and order them to concentrate preparatory to his leading them on some distant raid or expedition. They would not obey. In practice he sends for the leaders of the tribe and discusses his plans with them in secret for a week, fifteen days or even a month, while the pros and cons of the proposed operations

* Mr. Williamson, the well-known English Muslim intelligence officer of World War I—now residing in Basra.

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MI4

are examined from every angle. If a majority of the leaders are convinced of the soundness of the plan, the matter is settled, and a concentration of all fighting men takes place at a prearranged rendezvous, to carry out the plan agreed upon. Only the old and very young remain behind to guard the tents and camels.

A tribal army or force is called a *Qaum* (pronounced *Gaum*), e.g "Gaum ibn Sa'ud"—Bin Sa'ud's army.

The actual force that raids or attacks is known as a *Ghazzu*.

The term *harbiyah* is unknown among the Badawin of Najd, though it is commonly used in Iraq.

If Bin Sa'ud as king were in command of war operations in Najd, the tribes would be moved about at will, until launched to the attack, and at the point decided on by him. The actual method of attack would be probably left to the tribal leaders.

In warfare between the tribes as opposed to states, the main object is to round up and seize camels, and if you cannot capture stock, to inflict as much damage as possible on the enemy's young men.

During winter few raids take place,

(*a*) Because there is grazing everywhere and strong tribes concentrate where their camels and sheep are actually feeding, and successful surprise is therefore almost impossible.

(*b*) The movements of the tribes are not dictated by the question of water, which is generally found everywhere (rain pans, shallow pools, etc.).

(*c*) If a tribe is small and weak it can avoid its known enemies and likely attacks, by continually moving about and evacuating areas which may be dangerous.

In summer all Badawin are peculiarly vulnerable, for they must camp with tents closely concentrated over perennial wells, while their camels must of necessity go some distance away for their grazing. This vulnerability increases as summer progresses, for the grazing gets further and further away from the main camp. Nor can the tribe or community camped on water maintain its full armed forces with the camels, as food and water difficulties arise. They are compelled to leave the custody of their stock to patrols, a very unsatisfactory protection, for if the patrol cannot hold the raiders in their first rush, the latter simply round up the whole or part of the flocks and drive

k: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
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721 361 them off, long before any supporting body can reach them from the main camp.

It follows that from a European airman's point of view desert targets will also always be bad in the winter season, for tribes then pitch their tents singly or in twos and threes, over a large area of country, each group of tents being separated from its neighbour by a distance of anything from a quarter to half a mile. This is done for support purposes in case of Arab attack, and to ensure that camels are well scattered, and get full benefit from the grazing. Therefore, just as the Badawin is difficult of location and attack in winter and spring, from the point of view of his own Arab enemies, so a European force operating from the air against Badawin would be handicapped and affect little real damage during the cold season, as the scattered nature of camps would assist the defence, and if necessary immediate and further dispersion would be an easy operation. The opposite is of course the case in summer.

RAIDS

726 For a raid pure and simple, the Badawin relies on the element of surprise for success. If he has reason to suppose his movements are known and are being anticipated he will abandon his project without hesitation.

For long-distance raids only camels are employed, and a stroke may be delivered from a hostile concentration 250 miles or more away, day and night marching being the custom. For short-distance raids, camels and horses are employed in equal strength, a horseman riding behind each camelman, and the horses being led until the force is within striking distance of its quarry. The horsemen then dismount and make their final charge on horseback. The camelmen act the role of the supporting force, and cover the horsemen when driving off the enemy's camels.

Camel and horse raids can be carried out from a distance of anything up to 100 miles.*

* A notable instance of such long-distance horse and camel raid was when Ajemi al Sa'adun swooped down on Basra from Khamisiyah near Suq esh Shuyukh on the Euphrates, a year or so before World War I.

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
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In both cases, the principle of always seizing any Badawin found 723
en route and making him march with the raiders to prevent his spreading news is strictly followed. It is also common for leaders to give out that they are going in one direction and then to double back and pursue a totally different direction when they are a day's march out. Attacks at dawn or in the thick of a duststorm are much favoured. A usual stratagem of the attacked is to seize wells by which the raiders must retire. 'Azaiyiz, the son of Al Duwish, was intercepted and his force destroyed in 1929 at Um ar Ruthumah in this way.

Organised attacks on a township, a fortified camp on water, or on 725
an enemy trying to deny wells to a retiring force, are usually carried out on foot and in a series of lines in imitation of regular troops, horsemen and camelmen being kept in reserve. This form of attack was perfected by the 'Ikhwan and was specially favoured by them. They employed it when they endeavoured to capture Jahrah in 1920 in face of the combined forces of Kuwait, also in the operations leading up to the capture of Hail. On such occasions the first, second and third lines are found by irregular Badawin styled *'A'arab* by the faithful, while the supports and reserves consist of the *Mutadaiyanin* or "those with religion". These deliver the main stroke. Though invented by the 'Ikhwan, the above method would probably be employed in any future operations in which Sa'udi Arabia forces were engaged.

Flank attacks, rearguard actions and dispersing on the approach of enemy aircraft are well understood, and would no doubt be employed as occasion demanded.

In all forms of attack, water for men and horses is carried on selected 705
camels in *jirbas* or goatskins. Camels get nothing till the attack is over.

The inviolability of women in war has been dealt with in Chapter VII.

For a brief period only during Arab history have women been 721
treated in any other way than with chivalry and consideration; this 562
was in 1925 and the following years, when the fanatical 'Ikhwan, evolved of Bin Sa'ud's genius for furthering his political ends, were at the height of their power and were raiding the Iraq, Kuwait and trans-Jordan tribes, and cutting up scattered detachments of the Muntafiq and Khazail shepherd tribes in the southern desert.

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721
562 In these attacks the 'Ikhwan unpardonably butchered numbers of women and children. In mitigation of their offence it may be said that most of the women and children were shot down when the 'Ikhwan poured their first heavy volleys into the camps, preparatory to charging home, as was their wont, with the sword and dagger.

I have since had it on the authority of many of the then 'Ikhwan leaders that their killing of women was considered quite inexcusable, and many of them at the time felt deep shame and regret for their action. Some indeed of the more moderate fanatics went out of their way to spare and even save women and babes from their more fanatical brethren, while others deserted the cause of the 'Ikhwan and came into Kuwait. On my asking why they had so far forgotten their honour as to act as they did, I have been given reply by more than one, "We were infected by a great sickness, the Imám (Bin Sa'ud) had so filled us with rage and bitterness against all mankind who were not of our faith, and especially those holding the Shi'ah creed, that we were literally mad, and quite incapable of forming proper judgment. We had again and again been told of the great reward that would come to us from God for every infidel we slew, and we believed what we were told implicitly. Nay more, we were promised immediate Heaven and glorious *húris* there, if we were fortunate enough to get killed. Do not, therefore, blame us for those matters overmuch, for it shall never happen again."

Now that the 'Ikhwan have disappeared, or at any rate now that the movement has been definitely checked, and brought under control by the King, we may assume that the old Arab chivalry towards women in war or raiding has once again reasserted itself. The Arab of the desert says to-day that 'Ikhwanism is dead, and my own investigations and enquiries also confirm this. We must thank God that this is so.

I have myself such complete confidence in Badawin chivalry that I have for several years regularly taken my own wife and children into camp, and have left them there without guard or escort for days at a time, often as far as fifty miles away from Headquarters and on the very borders of Sa'udi Arabia. That they will always be safe I am quite certain; they are doubly safe because I leave them with Arab women for companions and friends. The Badawin world knows this and honours my trust.

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Surrender

Chap. XXVI

WAR CRIES

Every Arab prince and Arab tribe has a special war cry. Some have several and some a single one. 721 192

These war cries, called *nakhwa* and *'iswah*, are yelled out in the heat of battle, and especially during the wild charge of horsemen.

The war cry is supposed to strike terror into the foe. It also enables the individual warrior to recognise friend from enemy in the general mêlée that follows a charge—for every man as he goes into action muffles up his face till only his eyes are seen, and no uniforms distinguish combatants or differentiate friend from foe. [714]

SURRENDER

Among the Badawin the equivalent of the European or Westerner's "Hands up" is for a man to drop his rifle on the ground and place *the thumbs of both hands simultaneously between his teeth with the fingers of each hand extended outwards towards the person to whom he is surrendering*. This is the normal method, when for instance a man is a fugitive and is about to be caught up and killed by his pursuers. The meaning of the act is that he realizes that all is up, he has been caught, he knows death is his portion, nevertheless he casts himself on God's mercy and on that of his enemies. In nine times out of ten he will be spared. 726 516

Even in the heat of battle a man on the losing side can escape death if he recognises an old friend or acquaintance in the opposing ranks, by shouting out to him and saying, *Ya fulan, ana fi wejh-ak* (O So-and-So, I put myself under your protection). If the person so called upon has sufficient influence with his comrades to grant such protection, he replies, *Ataitak wejhhi sallam tufagtak* or *salahak* (I have given you my protection, hand over your rifle, or arms). Under such circumstances the suppliant is absolutely safe, and his guarantor goes bail for his life. 572 726

Should the man appealed to not be of sufficient importance among his fellow fighters to guarantee the life of the suppliant, he will call out to him and advise him to demand protection from someone more influential than himself, i.e. *Utlub wejh fulan* (Call upon the

l: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
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572 protection of So-and-So), and he will forthwith point out where he
726 is and who he is. Success is also assured this way.

When the 'Ikhwan were predominant in Najd, especially from 1920 to 1930, and for a time upset the laws of God and man, appeals such as the above went unheeded, and whether a man surrendered or not he was put to the sword.

The man granting protection to an enemy on the field of battle can always reserve the right to add such provisos as, "Your life or rifle only are guaranteed, not your horse," or "Your life alone is safe, not your weapons or horse," or "I give you your life subject to my master, the shaikh's final orders".

FAMOUS RAIDERS I HAVE KNOWN

● 721 (1) Shaikh Muhammad ibn Salim al Uthain of the Misra sept of the 'Ajman is perhaps the most dashing raider I have met. He did Bin Sa'ud's cause incalculable harm during the 1929–30 rebellion of the 'Ikhwan. A cheerful man and always laughing—short, of immense width of shoulder, with straight nose and a rather long jet-black beard with a pretty curl at the end of it.

His best piece of work was his raid from the borders of Kuwait (Wafra) to a point east of Abu Jifan Wells, on the direct Hufuf–Riyadh route. There he held up and captured several camel convoys, and ended by attacking, on 5th August, 1929, twelve cars full of armed men near Rumah as they proceeded across the Dahana sands from Riyadh to Hufuf. He captured and burnt them all, none of the crews escaping.

I happened to meet him on 22nd August, 1929, a fortnight after the event, when he tried to see the Shaikh of Kuwait in company with Farhan ibn Mashur, and beg supplies. He wore a large white turban after the fashion of the 'Ikhwan, and merrily told me how he had brought off his coup. He finished his story by handing me some sixty letters and cypher telegrams which the king had sent to Bahrain for despatch. These, he said, he took off a dead man. I was sorely tempted to take the telegrams and despatch them for the king myself, but thought better of it.

For several years after the above rebellion was put down, Muham-

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mad ibn Uthain lived in exile in Iraq. Later he lived in the Kuwait hinterland. Recently (1935) I advised him to accept Bin Sa'ud's amnesty to the 'Ajman, and return and make his peace with the king. He took my advice. 721

(2) Another famous raider acquaintance of mine was Faisal al Duwish, late Shaikh of all the Mutair and a veritable king among the Badawin, a man who did more than any other Arab to help Bin Sa'ud to rise to power and fame, the conqueror of Madina for Bin Sa'ud, and perhaps, after Bin Sa'ud himself, the greatest Badawin strategist the century has produced in Arabia. In appearance broad-shouldered, short and with a remarkably big nose and head. Dour and silent, he scarcely ever spoke to those around him, yet he was worshipped by his own clan, the Dushan, and by all the Mutair tribe wherever found, as a super-leader and hero. As he walked, he gave one the appearance of being slightly hunch-backed, and he had a decided limp, due to an old leg wound. He died, a prisoner, in Riyadh in 1932. May his soul rest in peace!

I myself first met him near Subahiyah on 31st August, 1929, during the 'Ikhwan rebellion of that year against Ibn Sa'ud, when he, with the whole Mutair and 'Ajman rebel force, crossed over into Kuwait territory and camped round the Subahiyah wells. His army was very hungry and had no supplies, and he hoped to be allowed to buy food from the port of Kuwait. He must have had fully three thousand tents with his force, and camels could not have been less than a hundred thousand. It was an inspiring sight and one I shall never forget. Having reported the influx of this large force into Kuwait State, I was told by H.M.G. to warn the redoubtable Faisal al Duwish that he must withdraw across the frontier within forty-eight hours, or he and his people would be bombed by the R.A.F. stationed in force at Shu'aiba (Basra).

Against the Shaikh of Kuwait's very strong advice (he told me he feared treachery), I motored out to Malah,* where I had asked Faisal to meet me. At the last moment the Shaikh of Kuwait followed after me with four of his slaves, as if harm befell me he felt, he said, that he ought to share my fate. Faisal al Duwish arrived at the rendezvous

* 15 miles south of Kuwait town.

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out to the camp of the Chief of the R.A.F. Air Staff, Iraq Command (now Air Vice-Marshal Sir S. S. Burnett, K.C.B., C.B.E., D.S.O.), who was directing operations, and handed over his sword.

Before being flown to Basra as a prisoner, later in the day, Faisal entrusted his wife, three sisters, two small children and twenty-seven other female relatives to me with the solemn injunction, *Ahli fi thimatak ya Abu Sa'ud* (I leave my womenfolk in your personal care and honour, O Abu Sa'ud). I took charge of these thirty-one high-born Arab ladies and their children and kept them as my guests in Kuwait for over a month and till such time as H.M. King 'Abdul 'Aziz al Sa'ud sent lorries and servants to convey them to his capital.

The King appreciated, and warmly thanked us by letter, for what my wife and I had done for these noble ladies, for in such matters Bin Sa'ud is without reproach and full of Arab chivalry.

Much adverse criticism and at times bitter condemnation has since been levelled at Faisal al Duwish by people who suffered at his hands, more especially the inhabitants of Iraq. Yet lest future historians criticise him unfairly, I should like to place it on record that what I saw of him personally was favourable. I was one of two Englishmen, I believe, who ever saw him and had personal contact with him prior to his surrender, and I was privileged to have had two long heart-to-heart talks with him, which gave me insight into his mind.

Faisal was undoubtedly a great desert general. He was worshipped by his people and held great and noble ideas for Arabia's future. He fell out with Bin Sa'ud, his equally great master and king, because he was too earnest in his ideas, and could not see things from a politician's point of view. He genuinely believed that Bin Sa'ud was playing a dangerous and double game by having friendly dealings with the infidel English, and he could not reconcile his leaders' policy with the stern Wahhabi creed as preached and practised by the 'Ikhwan.

I believe also that though he was latterly such a thorn in Bin Sa'ud's side, the King will, to his dying day, respect his memory above all people in Sa'udi Arabia, and will remember only the boy that Faisal was in his childhood days in Kuwait, and later the mighty warrior and leader of men that he became.

Next to the famous twenty-three paladins who assisted Bin Sa'ud

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721 to recover his capital Riyadh, Faisal al Duwish was in very fact his most constant companion, adviser and leader, in the score of other military undertakings which enabled Bin Sa'ud to reach his kingdom. Bin Sa'ud is too great a soldier to forget.

Perhaps Faisal al Duwish's most famous raid was when he reached the Red Sea from his headquarters, Artawiyah. The account of this raid was given me by Ibn Musailim, Shaikh of the Rashaida at Kuwait, on 27th January, 1935. I regret I did not make a note of the exact date of the raid in question. We were talking about long-distance raids and I had asked if he had ever done anything especial in the distance line. He said no, but pointing to a man in his tent he told him to tell me the story of his great four months' raid with Faisal al Duwish eight years previously. The man, nothing loth, recounted how his party under Al Duwish himself, left Artawiyah, moved to Ajibba, left Hail on the left, and proceeded by very rapid marches to Wejh on the Red Sea. The raiding party then swung north and raided a Billi concentration, surprised some Bani Attiya and returned finally with tremendous loot in camels via Lina, Arkhaimiyah, Hafar al Bátin and the Summán. The raid, he said, lasted almost exactly four months from start to finish, and the distance covered must have totalled at least 1,500 miles. "But those were in the good old 'Ikhwan days", added the man with a quiet twinkle in his eye.

(3) 'Abdùl 'Aziz, son of Faisal al Duwish (universally known as "'Azaiyiz").

'Azaiyiz was the eldest son of the great 'Ikhwan leader, and a fair-haired, fine, upstanding lad. His father doted on him, and some say that the collapse of the 'Ikhwan rebellion of 1929–30 definitely began on the day young 'Azaiyiz was killed. The father (according to the Mutair), after he received news of his son's death, became morose, despondent and would eat little. He certainly seemed incapable of further thought or action, and a fatal indecision seemed to take hold of him. From that day the belief came upon him, so it was said, that he could not win, and he began advising all who would to leave him and make the best terms they could with the King.

Though only about twenty-five when he died, 'Azaiyiz had already done well in many a raid with his father. The story of his last and

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epic raid was told me by Ibn Ashwan, Shaikh Mutluq al Sur and Faisal ibn Shiblan, all three of whom accompanied him. 721

On the 15th August, 1929, just before the rebel 'Ikhwan had attempted to cross into Kuwait territory, Faisal al Duwish decided to send his son on a long raid into the Harb, Shammar and Southern 'Anizah country for the purpose of convincing doubters that the 'Ikhwan rebellion was a serious and great menace to Bin Sa'ud, and that it behoved those sitting on the fence to join up with "the Elect".

'Azaiyiz was given a picked force of six hundred and fifty camel riders, the cream of the young men of the Mutair and 'Ajman, and was sent off in a north-westerly direction, accompanied by some experienced older men as advisers, such as Faisal ibn Shiblan, Ibn Ashwan, Mutluq al Sur and Abu Hagutta ('Ajman), to see that he did not allow keenness to override caution.

The raiding party started from Ark in the Kuwait Neutral Zone, and leaving Hafar al Bátin on the right, they passed through the Bashuk area, left Lina wells on the right, Al Turbiya wells on the left and reached Hazil (north of Hail). From here they turned north to the wells of Lifiya, captured vast herds of Shammar and Amarat camels as well as a Sa'udian convoy conveying ten thousand Rials' worth of *zakát* treasure to Hail, and started for home again, this time leaving Lauqa on the right, Jumaima on the left, and Lina on the right. Their intention was to halt at Um ar Ruthuma wells south-west of the Iraq Neutral Zone and water their camels. When near Lina they heard that Ibn Musa'ad, Bin Sa'ud's Governor of Hail, was trying to intercept them by seizing wells, and had moved across their line of retreat, with the intention of cutting off their most likely water. To this end Ibn Musa'ad had, it was reported, seized and strongly fortified the very wells they wanted to reach. The news was serious, for the August heat was intense, their riding camels had not drunk for four days; marches had been very long, and the vast herds of captured camels were falling and dying of exhaustion by the way. A council of war was accordingly held, at which old Faisal bin Shiblan counselled an immediate change of direction if they were to save their lives, and advised a north-easterly march via the Tawal al Dhafir towards Arkhaimiyah and Rigai (south-west corner of Kuwait), after which they would double south-east again, and try and reach the

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721 friendly Neutral Zone south of Kuwait. It was their only chance, advised ibn Shiblan, while ibn Ashwan and others strongly supported him. 'Azaiyiz, on the contrary, was for having a dash at Ibn Musa'ad's force, for "God", he said, "was on the side of the 'Ikhwan his Elect, and it would be *'aib* to avoid battle". In vain the older men pleaded, and high words followed. Last of all, four of their scouts brought positive news that the Um ar Ruthuma wells were held by a force fully thrice as numerous as the raiders. This decided the older warriors, and Faisal ibn Shiblan gave out that he intended going north-east with his own contingent in any case, and invited all wise men to accompany him. Hot-headed 'Azaiyiz still refused to follow, and ibn Shiblan, Ibn Ashwan and others departed with some one hundred and fifty men, and several hundred captured camels. The unfortunate 'Azaiyiz with now only five hundred men to rely on pushed forward swiftly in spite of exhausted and dying camels, and reached the vicinity of the Um ar Ruthuma wells at midday. The scouts' reports turned out to be all too correct, over fifteen hundred fresh Shammar, Harb and Hathar Badawin were holding the wells and had thrown up entrenchments all round the water area. The situation was a desperate one. The heat was intense. Camels had to have water, and men likewise. A survivor told me afterwards that at this point all water-skins kept in reserve for men had been long since empty and none of 'Azaiyiz's force had drunk for the last eight hours.

'Azaiyiz now called a halt within sight of the enemy who, knowing his strength, were curiously watching to see what would happen. Then 'Azaiyiz ordered the call to prayer, and the parched force knelt to pray. Hunger, thirst, privation and the prospect of a terrible encounter did not deter them for an instant. "Are we not of the Brotherhood, and the Elect of God?" cried their leader. "We must on and win the water, the Almighty will help his children." It was an agonizing moment. Half an hour later, 'Azaiyiz, taking farewell of his precious mare, which with one or two horses only had accompanied the force, ordered the attack to be delivered with all the courage and *élan* still left to them. He gave a last command to the slave who led his mare to save *her* if possible, and the dreadful assault of the five hundred thirst-maddened men began. The defenders, as may be supposed, easily had the advantage, and with cool courage met

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the charge of the 'Ikhwan. The latter were aided by the shimmering mirage which prevented good shooting and got to hand grips. A terrible and confused midday battle followed. For a time the wild and fanatical courage of the 'Ikhwan nearly won the day, but slowly and surely numbers began to tell, and Ibn Musa'ad brought up group after group of fresh reserves. The end came as the pitiless sun was going down. 'Azaiyiz, having lost over three-quarters of his men and seeing that the day went against him, was led exhausted from the field by five of his own personal servants, faithful determined men who made a last effort to save their beloved leader. They were never seen again alive, but their dried-up bodies and those of their riding camels were found two months later in the heart of the Hajira desert. They had perished of thirst.

The remainder of the 'Ikhwan died where they fought, and inflicted dreadful losses on the victors. Of the original force of five hundred men who joined battle, four hundred and fifty were killed where they fought. Ten men who, accompanied by Shaikh Mutluq al Sur and the wounded Shaikh Hazza ibn Badr (shot in the neck a week earlier by mistake by one of his own men, a Bara'asi) were guarding the *chessib*, or captured camels, and had halted five miles in rear of the main body, got away by moving swiftly after sunset via 'Aiwid, 'Arkhaimiyah, Rigai to Jahrah (in Kuwait), i.e. in the steps of Ibn Shiblan.

They eventually got to Ark with most of the captured camels, and reported to Faisal al Duwish.

This left forty odd men, all more or less wounded, whose adventures are recounted below.

As the sun went down and darkness fell over the field of battle, the forty escaped into the neighbouring sand dunes and lay low till next day. Mad with thirst they returned at dawn to try and get water, but found a Shammar rearguard of Ibn Musa'ad's force on the wells who gave them *wejh* (quarter), but disarmed them; Ibn Musa'ad with his main force had retired during the night towards 'Ajibba.

A day later this rearguard also followed, leaving the forty unarmed men behind. These were fortunately joined by one Shafi with rifle and ammunition, another fugitive. With three others he had escaped in the dark on the back of a mare, but had fallen off and lost himself.

Ibn Musa'ad, learning from his Shammar rearguard that the forty

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721 unarmed men were still at Um ar Ruthuma wells, sent back six men to shoot them. These arrived at midday and were met by Shafi, who, hiding his rifle, allowed the six to draw near. As soon as they started shooting the defenceless men (they killed two), he suddenly let fly in their backs, dropped two men and a *dhalúl* and captured a second *dhalúl* loaded with four water-skins. The four remaining murderers bolted. The capture of the water-skins and camel enabled the thirty-eight wounded survivors to get away and eventually reach safety. Eight of the survivors had the ill-luck to be killed at Ingair a month later, when Faisal al Duwish fell upon the 'Awazim tribe. Ibn Musa'ad's force lost over five hundred killed in this battle alone, including such well-known personages as Ibn Nuhaiyir, Ghubaib, Ibn Arhan, Zubar al Zamil, Majid al Qahtani, Naif al 'Utaibi and Saiyah al Qahtani.

'Azaiyiz's thoroughbred mare, and his slave, eventually reached Kuwait via Jahrah—a truly marvellous ride. In spite of the fact that she got only one drink on the morning of the battle, the mare managed to travel a distance of 180 miles across wild open desert without water to Jahrah (20 miles from Kuwait) in three days. When one realises that the month was August, and the desert sun temperature by day anything up to 170° F., the feat must, to my mind, rank as one of the most notable ever put up by an Arab, whether horse or mare.

So ended the great adventure of 'Azaiyiz. Shaikhs Faisal ibn Shiblan (whose life I saved some six months later), Hazza ibn Badr, Mutlug al Sur, Ibn Ashwan and Abu Hagutta got safe away; also, by different routes, another two hundred men, with the booty they had with them. In fact, the forlorn hope of 'Azaiyiz saved Ibn Shiblan and party as well as Mutluq al Sur's ten men, for the victors had supposed that the whole 'Ikhwan force was present at the battle. The wounded Hazza was later brought into Kuwait and was taken into hospital and cured of his neck wound by the local doctor. It was touch and go with him.

The mare of 'Azaiyiz was brought into Kuwait from Jahrah a week after the battle, and it was my privilege to have her secretly stabled in a house near my own, where I fed and tended her for three months. She was just skin and bone when she was first brought in, and had a running sore the size of one's open hand in the centre of her back. My wife and I tended her till she got well. We gave her nothing but

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lucerne grass, dates in the form of a mash, and milk to drink for the first fortnight of her stay with us. She was a beautiful animal with mouth and nostrils so small that they would easily go into a man's two hands held cup-fashion. She had great round eyes, full of sense and intelligence, with broad forehead. Her colour was dark bay, and her age was about thirteen years.

Her new owner, for she was secretly sold to avoid her falling into Ibn Musa'ad's hands, took her eventually to Iraq, where I saw her on several occasions during the next two years, though Ibn Musa'ad, the Mutair and the Dhafir tribe all claimed her by right of conquest, and wrote letters to Kuwait about her.

To return to the raid. I calculate that 'Azaiyiz's raid totalled 900 miles as far as distance went, though I have not been able to find out actually how many days it took from start till disaster overtook it. The ten different survivors who gave me details of the story were all unable to give reliable figures, their sufferings had been too much for them, I think, and they had lost count.

Another version of the escape to Jahrah of 'Azaiyiz's mare is as follows:

She originally belonged to a Dhafiri resident at Artawiyah, by name Fahad Husaini. The latter sold her to 'Azaiyiz, through one Thaifallah al Mutairi, just after Al Duwish raided the Sbei tribe at Ga'iyah the previous year. 'Azaiyiz promised to pay for her after returning from his great raid—and never actually took the mare with him. 'Azaiyiz never returned alive, nor did Thaifallah.

Fahad, the Dhafiri, after 'Azaiyiz's death, went to Faisal al Duwish and demanded the money promised by 'Azaiyiz. Bandar, second son of Faisal al Duwish (now Shaikh of the Mutair), to save the mare, claimed that he had handed her over to one Ghadaiyir al Nafah. The latter is said to have taken her (ten days after the battle) from Al Haba to Jahrah (a distance of 160 miles) in three days, on learning that Fahad the Dhafiri was claiming her back.

At Jahrah the mare was hidden for a fortnight and eventually sold to Farhan al Rahama (my man), when he married Hussa bint Sanaithan abu Sifra.

The above is placed on record lest my story of the escape of 'Azaiyiz's mare from Um ar Ruthuma is ever challenged or proved

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721 wrong. Both stories have been told me by supporters of both versions. 'Azaiyiz's slave's evidence is hard to refute, so I personally favour the former version. As a matter of fact, whether the mare did her 160 miles or her 180 miles without water is immaterial, seeing that either feat would be very remarkable under a midsummer sun.

The gallant end of 'Azaiyiz filled the Badawin world and even the King himself with admiration, and it is interesting to record that the dead leader's two wives, Hussa bint Sahan al Mutluq and Al Jázi bint Faraj al Shiblan, were, at the close of the 'Ikhwan operations, taken in marriage by H.M. the King and his brother 'Abdullah al Sa'ud respectively. This act, which to our Western eyes may sound strange and heartless, was in reality a great honour to the widows, as well as a sure sign to the world that the King was the conqueror.

(4) Suwaiyan abu Jum'ah of the Mahfudh section of the 'Ajam (see Chapter XXII). This youth proceeded in 1934 to Najran with the Amir Sa'ud. From there he succeeded in penetrating to Sana, the Yaman capital, in supposed search of his brother but really as a spy. On his return to Najran proceeded with a raiding party of 'Ajman to the hinterland of Hadhramaut and raided the Sai'ar and Karab tribes of that district, bringing back camels as loot. I myself saw these camels near Kuwait. I met Suwaiyan abu Jum'ah in the spring of 1935 (29th April). He told me of his adventures in South Arabia, and their truth was vouched for by several 'Ajman leaders in a tent full of 'Ajman tribesmen. They all assured me that the man's story was true and not exaggerated.

(5) Farhan ibn Mashhur al Sha'alan of the Ruwala tribe 'Anizah, was at one time a favourite of the King, but joined the rebels under Faisal al Duwish early in the revolt. He eventually got back to his country via Baghdad, though in doing so he let down King Faisal of Iraq rather badly. He was slain near Damascus by Fawaz ibn Nawaf al Sha'alan on 20th April, 1935. He was undoubtedly a renowned raider, but not a very pleasant man to meet. He always struck me as insincere, and to this day I am convinced that he went over to Bin Sa'ud and then to the 'Ikhwan, not from real religious motives, but in the hope that he would some day succeed to the shaikhship of the

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Chap. XXVI

Ruwala when the Amir Nuri died. Ibn Mashur married an 'Ajman girl, 72.1 the daughter of Muhammad ibn Uthain. She died in Iraq in 1933.

(6) Al Dahaina of the 'Utaiba tribe bore a good name in the Badawin world as a skilful and daring raider. He was one of Faisal al Duwish's stalwarts before and during the 'Ikhwan rebellion, and was present with Ibn Mashhur in the battles of Al Ritha and Ingair in Hasa, when the combined 'Ajman and Mutair tribes attacked the 'Awazim in their own home.

After the collapse of the rebellion al Dahaina fled to Iraq, and was given a pension by H.M. King Faisal. He was still there in 1935. I met him only once.

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CHAPTER XLI

The Sulubba

The word *Sulubba* is a generic term. The singular of the name is *Sulubbi*, and the plural *Sulaib*. 565 619

Much has been written about this low-class tribe, or more properly community.

They are found all over the northern half of the Arabian Desert roughly from a line drawn east and west through Madina and Riyadh in the south, to another line drawn from Aleppo to Mosul.

In the south they are more despised and looked down on than in the north, and their worldly possessions are less.

Practically every tribe within the area described has a community [463] of Sulubba living with it, as they are found useful as menders of pots and pans, hunters and trackers.

Chief among the Sulubba's characteristics is their uncanny knowledge of the secret water-holes of the country they live in. They are [721] valued for this knowledge by the tribe which protects them, as it is a great asset in war, and most useful on long raids. Some Sulaib, for this reason, are nearly always taken with a raiding party.

Similarly a Sulubbi hunter is nearly always to be found in the [224] entourage of a shaikh, as he usually knows better than others where gazelle and ostrich are to be found.

The Sulubba are said to be Muslims, but few pray properly, and it [795] would probably be true to say that they possess no religion, except when it is diplomatic to appear to have one as in Najd and Kuwait.

The Sulubba men are in general a miserable fawning lot; they affect endearing and diminutive Arab terms of address, and are cringing in their manner.

Both men and women are good-looking above the average, especially the women, among whom there are often very pretty girls indeed. Their usually half-starved appearance is repellent, and gives colour to the Arab story that they eat offal and "animals they find dead".

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exactly the same wound and with a sword on D's head as D inflicted on C. He must not exceed his right in taking his vengeance by one jot or tittle, else he himself lays himself open to counter punishment, and the feud proceeds.

The Shaikh of Kuwait told me the following rather harrowing story of an event which took place in Kuwait about 1927, and which illustrates the stern determination of the Badawin of the desert to enforce what they deem the just law of retribution.

A Mutairi tribal woman living in Kuwait had three sons (the father had died some years previously). One day the eldest son quarrelled with the second son in the market place, and in a fit of rage shot him through the heart. The shot man died almost immediately and the murderer was arrested. The mother, on being asked by the shaikh what sort of punishment she wanted him to inflict on her eldest son replied that she demanded his life, and straightway called upon him to order her youngest son to shoot his elder brother. The shaikh, filled with horror at the woman's unnatural demand, and especially at the idea of turning the youngest boy also into a fratricide, pleaded for several days with the woman. At the same time he pointed out that it was quite unnecessary for her to lose two of her sons at one stroke, seeing that the killing was unpremeditated. He therefore asked her to allow him to judge the matter as he thought fit. The mother was, however, adamant. Consequently the third boy, who was greatly devoted to his two elder brothers, was given a rifle and ordered to shoot his surviving brother in the heart, and in the public market square. He refused point blank, and repeatedly threw the proffered rifle on the ground. Finally on being pressed he fainted, and the execution had to be carried out by the shaikh's own guards. Local Badawin opinion fully agreed with the mother's decision, and the way the execution was carried out, but the unhappy mother was left with only her third son, who, hating her for her ferocity, refused to live with her or even to support her any more.

It is understood among the Badawin of to-day that no blood money can legitimately be claimed in the case of a man killed in regular battle between two tribes at war. This is simply because it is impossible for men to recognise one another in a long-range fight with modern firearms. Nevertheless if a man be recognised in the course

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Ma'adan

721 628 of such battle as having deliberately engaged and killed another in single combat, then he should be on his guard for the rest of his life, for the dead man's relatives may some fine day try to take vengeance as they have the right to do.

I know the case of one such man, a Rashidi named Id al 'Awaiyid. He killed five men (an 'Utaibi, a Dhafiri, a Mutairi, a Harbi and an 'Ajmi) in various 'Ikhwan raids and was recognised as having done so. To-day he is always shy of camping alone in the desert and tries to be the *qasír* or tent neighbour of another man or men wherever he goes, so as to ensure their defending him if he should ever be attacked or set upon.

To prevent possible recognition every Badawin goes into battle with his *kaffiyah* (head cloth) wound tightly across his face and the ends tucked into the *'agál* (black hair head-rope) on top of his head. This hides all but his eyes and so gives him a feeling of security should there be hand-to-hand fighting.

628 Among the Ma'adan, or primitive marshmen of Iraq, the following pleasant custom exists for ending a family blood feud. The murderer, after paying full blood money to the injured relatives, offers in addition his sister or daughter as wife to the nearest male relation of the killed man. Marriage is then consummated, and the children of the union are supposed to wipe out for ever any blood estrangement that may still exist between the various members of the two families. As far as I know, this is never done among the Badawin, or the Sharif Arabs.

628 721 Certain well-known royal and princely houses in Arabia, from earliest times, have always refused to accept *'idiyah* in any form. Nor will battle excuse the slayer, if he is known. His life must be sought and taken. The Al Sa'ud, the Ál Subah and the Ál Khalifah families may be cited as instances of this.

Similarly the slayer of Shaikh 'Ali al Salim al Subah of Kuwait at Riqai in 1927 by a man of the Braih section of the Mutair is known and is still (in 1936) being sought for by the ruling house of Kuwait.

This refusal among the great to accept *'idiyah* for one of their relatives slain in battle, or otherwise, is due no doubt to a desire to maintain their prestige and honour unimpaired among neighbouring tribes and the Arab world generally.

It may be mentioned in passing that a man who steals a slave of a

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Thieving

Chap. XLII

It may be mentioned in passing that a man who steals a slave of a prince or prominent Arab, whether in war or by underhand means, is never forgiven, and his death will be sought for and encompassed, if the original owner has to search for the culprit all his life and to the ends of the earth.

THEFT

Common thieving, whether from enemy or friend, is considered *'aib* or a shameful thing among the true Badawin and is simply "not done".

The lifting of horses and camels from other Badawin with whom an ancient feud or enmity exists is not theft: it is a *ghazzu*, or honourable raid. The appropriation of other people's property never takes place between persons or tribes who are on terms of friendship or alliance.

Given a strong central government such as in Sa'udi Arabia, and raiding becomes at once unfashionable, but if there is the least loss of control at the centre then out go the raiders, all intent on fun and *chessib* (loot).

Common thieving is punished by the loss of the right hand for the first offence, and so on for subsequent offences, and this punishment has the sanction of the Shari'ah Law behind it. The method is in force throughout Sa'udi Arabia to-day, in Yaman and in some of the neighbouring Arab states of the Persian Gulf.

Among the Northern Badawin of Arabia, if an accused man denies a theft, and there is no proof either way, the shaikh of a tribe or community sometimes orders the accused to stand the ordeal by fire. A sword or ramrod is brought and the end heated red hot in a fire and applied for a couple of seconds to the accused's tongue. If he is innocent he will not be hurt and will depart honourably acquitted and with head held high. If guilty his tongue will at once be badly burnt and the crime will be brought home to him.

I only once had a case of this brought to my notice. Shaikh Mahruth ibn Fahad Beg al Hadhal, of the Amarat ('Anizah), had a sword stolen from him when camped near Kerbela in 1922. As Political Officer Middle Euphrates I had a man from Musaiyib arrested on suspicion, the theft having been laid at his door by Shaikh Mahruth himself. No definite evidence was forthcoming and I was about to release the

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Muntafiq

619 101 233 Add to the above the Zubairiyah, a Zubair sheep tribe, and the Zauba and Rufai'at, who are of Shammar origin, both of whom in good years join up with the Muntafiq shepherds and move southwards with them, and you have a fairly complete list of the Euphrates Shawíyah lying east of Samawa.

492 144 233 These tribes, though they move about on donkeys, which are more suitable beasts of burden for men owning slowly moving flocks of sheep, are in no way to be confused with the low-class Sulubba fraternity, which are found all over Middle and North Arabia. The latter are the outcasts of the Peninsula, while the shepherd tribes are for the most part of good Arab stock, and some can give and take women from the best tribes of Iraq.

795 439 The shepherd tribes are all Shi'ah by persuasion and so are not much liked by the pure-blooded Badawin of the high desert. Nevertheless, they are tolerated and even welcomed by the latter each year, since they bring with them cheap mutton, excellent *dehen* (clarified butter), much wool for tents and red and white sheepskins, always in demand for camel saddle-coverings.

221 With each annual rainy season the shepherd tribes move south into the gravelly desert some 200 miles or more from the Euphrates. They divide into two waves when they reach the Bátin valley, one wave moving down through Kuwait state into the Kuwait Neutral Zone and beyond,* and the other going down as far south as the Tawál al Dhafir and Tawál al Mutair, or scattering over the Al Hajara region, which speaking roughly lies along both sides of the Iraq–Sa'udi Arabia frontier line.

Speaking generally, but this is not an invariable rule, the Zauba–Bani Salama, Ghazzi, Budur, Ghazalat and Zaiyad tribes keep to the west of the Bátin while the Sharaifat, Juarín, Bani Malik, Albu Salah and 'Aunan pass through Kuwait and south along the coast of the Persian Gulf.

721 713 The best of the shepherd tribes from a fighting point of view are perhaps the Budur, the Juarín and the Ghazzi, whose Shaikhs Shirshab al Sahan, Nasir al Gubaih (son of the more famous Husain al Gubaih of Great War days) and Manshad al Habaiyib I count among some of my oldest friends of the southern desert. I had many a political

* In bad years the southern limit is Jahrah at the head of the Bay of Kuwait.

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Mutlaf 9

Good-looking Shepherd Girls

tussle with them in the old war days when I held charge of the Suq al Shuyukh and Nasriyah areas. All are good fighters and of tough breed, and all carry the very latest type of rifle or carbine with an abundance of ammunition.

The shepherd tribes leave the Euphrates about the 15th October of each year, and provided early rains (*wasm*) have fallen in the southern desert, move slowly south grazing on the new green shoots and drinking from rain pools or *khabras* which, owing to the rock formation of the subsoil almost everywhere in North-East Arabia, sometimes lie for weeks before drying up.

During February and March the shepherd tribes cover the whole of the area lying to the south and west of Kuwait, and quite one of the pleasantest features of Kuwait life at this time of the year is to meet the large number of pretty shepherd lasses who are to be seen laughing happily and wending their way along the roads which converge on to the town.

These girls are usually accompanied by droves of small donkeys laden to the ground with curdled milk in skins, wool and firewood which they bring into Kuwait to sell, or again in the evening taking home their daily purchases of food, brightly coloured cloth, etc.

They are a very happy community and as a rule prefer to travel without their men folk, who stay with the tents or tend the flocks.

These *Hukra* lasses, as they are locally called, all go unveiled in contrast to the Kuwait Badawin women. Being for the most part pretty and good looking, they usually have a crowd of town youths buzzing round the spot where they congregate to sell their wares. Like most of their sisters nearer home, they can drive the shrewdest of bargains, and give as good as they get in verbal exchanges.

The women with babies either carry them on their backs on the march, or tuck them into a saddle-bag thrown across a donkey's back. The wee faces peering out just above the edge of the roomy bag are a most comical sight.

In general appearance these shepherd girls, like their men folk, are strong and lusty, and rarely ride their donkeys. They walk twelve to fifteen miles a day when visiting Kuwait, and on the same day in the evening return some six or seven miles out of the town, sleep on the side of the road when dark falls, and at dawn continue their

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Appendix I

About half of the Mutair took part in the rebellion against Bin Saud in 1929–30 under Faisal al Duwish. The other half remained loyal under ibn Musaiyis, ibn Shuqair and others. The fortunes of the tribe suffered a temporary eclipse when the rebellion was put down, but it should not be long before it recovers its former strength.

The Mutair are well armed with modern rifles, mostly Turkish and German Mauser carbines with a sprinkling of .303 supplied by Bin Sa'ud, and though partially disarmed by Bin Sa'ud after the rebellion of 1929–30 have already largely replaced shortages.

Ammunition to-day appears to be scarce, but this is because it is Bin Sa'ud's policy to keep his tribes short of this commodity, until there is need for a general issue.

During the 'Ikhwan movement, the Mutair became the most fanatical and best of Bin Sa'ud's fighters. With the collapse of the movement they, like the 'Ajman and 'Awazim, have gone back to their old love and would like to come under Kuwait, from whom Bin Sa'ud managed to entice them away on the death of Mubarak, the great Ruler of Kuwait.

Sullen hostility to Bin Sa'ud is to-day (1937) marked in spite of the latter's treating the Mutair well. The chief cause of the present hatred dates from the rebellion of 1929–30 and its aftermath, and may be summed up in the following:

(*a*) The imprisonment of Faisal al Duwish and death of their beloved leader in Riyadh.

(*b*) The confiscation by Bin Sa'ud of their almost sacred herd of camels known as the *Shuruf*.

The best-known characteristic of the tribe is the capacity for being able to deliver a surprise attack from a far-distant base. As an individual the Mutairi is manly and brave but inclined to be sullen. He is not good in defence. The tribe breed mainly horses and camels and a few sheep. They own the famous breed of *Krush* horses, and up to the 1929–30 rebellion could probably put six hundred horsemen into the field. The women wear a black hanging soft *burqa* over their faces of attractive appearance, and once satisfied of a guest's credentials will allow him to mix freely with them. This is one of the pleasing traits they are proud of.

The Shammar and Dhafir are the chief enemies of the Mutair. The 'Ajman were formerly hostile, but their recent alliance (1929–30) has healed the breach of the past, at any rate for the time being, and marriages between the two tribes are not uncommon.

'Ajman (Singular 'Ajmi)

Paramount Shaikh—ibn hithlain* (from Shaikhly Clan al ma'idh, subsection najiah).

* Is also pronounced Hathlain.

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Appendix I

713 *Arms.*—The tribe is particularly well armed with modern rifles, the majority of the men having the Turkish mauser, while the long .303, short .303, German mauser, and Turkish cavalry mauser are to be found. The British short .303 is not popular, it being considered too clumsy for horsemen to carry.

Ammunition appears to be fairly plentiful, but in wartime would be the first supply to fail. No doubt Bin Sa'ud would remedy this by a general issue. The 'Ajman look upon the 'Awazim, the other powerful tribe in Hasa, as their hereditary serfs, but Bin Sa'ud has given the latter the status of an independent tribe. Great enmity exists to-day between the two communities in consequence.

619 The best-known characteristics of the 'Ajman are:

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(*a*) Their hot-headedness in attack, which is liable to get them into difficulties.

(*b*) Their loyalty to each other. "Touch one and touch all" may be called their motto.

(*c*) Their remarkable propensity for chattering. They love a joke.

231 The tribe breeds large numbers of camels and a few horses, but practically no sheep.

342 Their tents are usually black or brown, the side pieces and inner partitions having several broad white horizontal stripes in the centre, peculiar to themselves. 'Ajman women cover their faces with a shiny cloth mask of rather unattractive appearance as opposed to the black hanging *burqa* of the Mutair, 'Awazim and Rashaidah, which looks well.

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609 The individuals of the tribe are hospitable to strangers, and the women, like the Mutair, will mix freely with guests, once the preliminary suspicious feelings are removed. They very much dislike their women going into the towns, however.

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619 The 'Ajman look upon the Dhafir perhaps as their principal enemies, but are also hostile traditionally to Mutair, Shammar, Sbei, and Sahul tribes.

721 In the 1929–30 'Ikhwan rebellion against Bin Sa'ud about half of the 'Ajman allied themselves with the Mutair, half remained staunch.

In the same rebellion the 'Ajman, though camped close to the Kuwait border, carried out several daring and successful long-distance raids to the vicinity of Riyadh and Hufuf, both distant three hundred and fifty miles from their base, proving their well-known talent and capacity for distant forays. In one of these raids the Shaikh of the Al Misra section (ibn 'Uthain) destroyed fourteen of Bin Sa'ud's cars in the Dahana between Riyadh and Hufuf.

641 The 'Ajman, with the collapse of the 'Ikhwan movement, may be said to be sullenly hostile to Bin Sa'ud, and the northern sections would like to

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Appendix II

619 the Euphrates into the country south-west of Mosul, where they reside
101 to-day under the name of Shammar Jarba (Shaikh Ajil al Yarwar).*
173 3. The town of KHAIBAR is the earliest-known centre of the 'Anizah tribe, and to this day its two main "quarters" are called Al Bishr and 'Ijlas.

619 4. The 'Anizah tribe is the greatest of all Badawin tribes as regards strength and the numbers of their camels. They have a pretty story that their ancestor Wail chanced on the right moment in the Night of Destiny (Lailat al Qadr) the 27th of Ramadhan (Fast Month), when God will always fulfil the prayers of men. Placing one hand on his she-camel and the other on a certain part of his own person, he prayed that her seed and his own should be fruitful and multiply: God heard his prayer with to-day's wonderful results.

It is said that the 'Anizah to-day number 37,000 males, and their camels approximately one million.

● 721 619 5. The 'Anizah between themselves are always at war, but will combine against any foreign aggressor. For example, the Amarat—Sba'a—and Fida'an are at enmity with the Ruwala and will combine against them. Similarly the Dahamsha, though of Amarat origin, do not fight the Ruwala (because of an ancient grievance against the Ibn Hadhal, then the titular overlords).

[628] 6. The great external enemy of the 'Anizah are the Shammar, whether found in the north or in the south. This is a hereditary feud.

7. The Hawaitat tribe, lying south-west of the 'Anizah country between Wejh and the Amman border, are also enemies from old time, but are not strong enough to worry them much, hence there is a sort of perpetual truce between them.

APPENDIX II

000 BADAWIN SHAIKHS WE HAVE KNOWN INTIMATELY

'Anizah	Fahad Beg al Hadhal (dead)	Amarat group.
	Mahruth al Hadhal	
	Nuri as Sha'alan	Ruwala group.
	Farhan ibn Mashur (dead)	
	Fawaz ibn Nawaf as Sha'alan	
Dhafir	Hamud as Suwait (dead).	
	Hantush as Suwait.	
	Jada'an as Suwait.	
	Jali ibn Juraiyid.	

* Now Shaikh Sfug ibn Ajil.

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~~Appendix XV~~

APPENDIX XV

THE TRIBAL "WAR CRY" (NAKHWA)

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The following are a few war cries of the more important Tribes of Arabia.

(a) The House or Clan of the Al Sa'ud. "Al Auja", "Ana Akhu Nura", "Ana ibn Mijrin".

(b) The House of Al Subah. "Ana ibn Salim", Ana akhu Mirriam".

(c) The Shammar Tribe. "Sanayís", (common to the whole tribe).

(d) The 'Ajman Tribe. "Mu'assa al Haddán, wa ana ibn Al Ajám", "Mafras al Hadid, wa ana ibn Al Ajám", "Sifar safi al Maut, wa ana Ladhala", "Safi al Maut, wa ana Ladhaila".

(e) The Mutair ('Ilwa) "Ilwa, Hal Raddat".
(Jiblan) "Khayal al Sabha",* "Al Jibili".
(Muwaha) "'Awlad al Muwaihi", "Al Batha",† "Ana ibn Madwash".‡
(Wasil) "'Awlad Wásil", "Ar Rahman wa ana ibn Wásil".
(Bani Abdilla) "'Awlad 'Abád".
(Al Sa'aran) "Al Ashwa",§ "Ana ibn Ali".
(Al Sahabba) "Khayal Sabhat Mushabi".

(f) Awazim. "Atwi", "'Awlad 'Atta" (elided to "Alladatta").

(g) Rashaida. "Al Daaiji", "Murr al Dalála Da'aiji", "Khaiyal Sabhat Da'aiji".

(h) Harb. "Ana ibn 'Ali".

(i) 'Utaiba. "Ahl al 'Atiyah, wa ana ibn Ruq".

(j) Sbei. "Al 'Arfa Sbeiy".

(k) Dhafir. "Al Garwa, Suwaiti", "Sabha Tammah".

* Name of a hill in Najd used as a rendezvous.
†Name of Al Duwish's own camel.
‡ The name of a famous ancestor.
§ Pet name of a she-camel.

Note on (d) above.—The "Nakhwa" common to Ajman and Murra, which may be termed a rallying cry or appeal to fight, is "Ayál Marzuk."

APPENDIX XVI

BLOOD OF THE BIRZAN SECTION OF MUTAIR

A FURTHER NOTE

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Shaikh Sabah al Nasir, discussing the question on May 11, 1950, made the following statement:

1. Rabies was unknown in the Hasa, Riyadh, and Rub' al Khali part of Arabia, and appeared to be confined to northern border of Sa'udi Arabia, South Iraq desert and Kuwait.

drought-resisting trees and shrubs, which will at any rate keep them alive. Under such circumstances the milk supply gets very short and the Arabs suffer much from hunger, for milk is their staple food. Among the Badu in South-Western Arabia dates are a rare luxury, meat is seldom eaten except by guests for whom an animal has been slaughtered, and all grain has to be purchased in the villages.

You can see that it is a hard life with absolutely no margin. Hunger and thirst, heat and cold—bitter cold. Few people realize how cold it can be in these Arabian deserts. In summer the temperature rises to 120° in the shade, and there really is no shade, and the only water which these Badu have to drink is brackish and tastes like a strong dose of Epsom salts. In winter it is nearly freezing, and at night a herdsboy will scrape a shallow trench in the sand, lie down naked in it and then cover himself with his shirt. It certainly is a desperately hard life, and it is made even harder by continuous raiding and counter-raiding. Everyone is living the whole time in a state of suspense with his rifle in his hand and his eyes scanning the horizon. A herdsman sees some mounted Arabs in the distance and immediately collects his camels, which are never very numerous, and drives them off as fast as he can, for no one can afford to take any chances. If the people he has seen are friends they will signal by throwing up sand into the air or send one person forward alone waving his headcloth. Then, having established contact, they will ride over, ask the news—for Badu are always anxious to have the latest news—and let their mounts graze while they refresh themselves with the milk which the herdsman provides. Generally, to keep their herds alive at all on the scanty grazing, the Badu must scatter widely, and can put up no resistance against a raiding party which may be as many as two hundred strong. All they can do is to try to drive off their camels at the first hint of danger and, if they are robbed but themselves escape, collect their friends and set off in pursuit. The raiders consequently work fast, gather what spoil they can, and disappear. Sometimes, especially if the raid has failed and if they are pursued, they have a desperate time getting back, and, should there be a blood feud between the two tribes, they can expect no mercy if they are overtaken. I heard of one party of raiders who had raided four hundred miles, had failed to get any loot, and who, to keep themselves alive on their way back, had cut off and eaten the tails and ears of their camels. Sometimes a pursuit party from the steppes follows the raiders far into sands which are unknown to them. Should a strong wind get up and blow out the tracks, they may be lost, unable to follow the raiders to the wells which lie ahead, and unable to retrace their own tracks home. Yet ordinarily the Badu are not afraid of thirst. More than once they have told me that in winter it would be hunger, not thirst, which would kill them if they were left without food or water. This is an instance of Badu exaggeration, but I have met Arabs who have lasted as long as seven days without either food or water.

Many of them are wonderful trackers, for their very lives depend upon the accuracy with which they can read such signs. I remember once when I was riding across the desert with some of them how we came upon some half-obliterated marks in the sand. One of our party turned aside and

151 followed these tracks for about two hundred yards. He then came back
721 to us and said that fifteen Awamir from the north had raided the Junuba near the southern coast, lifted three of their camels, watered at a certain well, and passed this way twelve days before. I myself could not have been certain that the tracks were even the tracks of camels, they were so blown by the wind, but he had read the whole story. We had been out of touch with all Arabs for over a month, but when we met Badu they confirmed that this raid had taken place exactly as he had said. It is, however, a mistake to think that all Badu can track. Some of them are as bad at tracking as they are at guiding, but when you meet a good tracker or a good guide his skill is uncanny.

181 You might think that a life like this, where to keep alive at all is only
577 just possible, was bound to degenerate into a brutish struggle for survival.
609 But this is not so. These Badu are, it is true, hard and ruthless, avaricious
574 and impatient of restraint, yet no people are so generous. They will give away their clothes literally from off their backs, and they are brave, loyal to each other, courteous, patient, and unselfish. I have spent the greater part of the last five years with them, and I have found it hard indeed to live up to their standards of decency. Arab hospitality is famous, but I wonder if you realize what it implies. The Badu do not ask someone to dinner when they have got something extra or when they feel inclined. One or two or half a dozen people are travelling past, see an encampment, and decide to spend the night there, for the traveller in the desert takes a free meal of anyone he sees. The host and his family are probably almost starving, yet everything they have is routed out and set before their self-invited guests, whom they may never have seen before, and if possible they will slaughter an animal for their dinner. I have often received this hospitality, and even now it makes me uncomfortable, though my host has sent me away in the morning feeling that it really was I who had conferred a kindness on him. Of course, another time it is one's host who is travelling and taking meals off someone else, so it evens up, I suppose. But it is not that; it is the wonderful, open-hearted, ungrudging way in which they do it. I am afraid I have always resented the sight of unwanted guests when we were short of food.

576 When travelling they always divide up their food before each meal and
264 then draw lots for it, otherwise there is invariably an argument, never because someone says he has been given too little, but because he maintains that he has received too much. Among semi-settled Arabs, where the strict Badu conventions are not necessarily observed, you soon see how
[271] quickly it is resented when someone always takes the largest piece. Once
576 we reached a well after we had been twenty-four hours without water, yet no one would drink when we arrived because some of our party had lingered behind to graze their camels, and they would only drink when
[486] everyone was there. The bond which exists between travelling companions is indeed tremendously strong; it is only this which makes travelling possible at all. If you are accompanied by a tribesman from a hostile tribe, you are safe from that tribe while he is with you, and he
577 would fight in your defence even against his own brothers. To betray a companion is the blackest crime which a Badu can commit; but it goes

609 treachery. This is probably a slander, inspired by the constant enmity which characterizes their relations with their neighbours; but they certainly deserve their reputation for godlessness, for they never fast nor pray, declaring that the Prophet gave their forefathers exemption from both.

231 We now sat looking down on the busy
521 scene around the well, and those Arabs who had finished watering strolled over and joined us. They asked us what we thought of their herds, and were soon deep in technicalities with my companions. They spoke of individual camels owned by Arabs four or five hundred miles away, of the different breeds, their milk yields and powers of endurance, of prices in Dhofar, Najran and on the Trucial Coast, of pasturage, and of camels taken in raids on other tribes. We heard details of the
● 721 recent raid upon the Yam and of how Mabkhaut, nicknamed the Cat, had remained behind to hold up the pursuit and had been killed when his rifle jammed. He had been the greatest raider in the southern desert and his exploits and daring were legendary among the tribes. I had known him well, for he had guided us the year before from Salala to Dhofar. They spoke of raids across the waterless eastern steppes, and among the giant dunes to the north. They told of pursuits and battles in the dark, of ruthless killings, of blood-feuds and murder. They mentioned famous guides, and waterholes and routes across the sands, where the oryx herds still
574 roamed. Meanwhile, a young lad had blown up the embers of the fire and set the long-necked coffee pot to boil. His uncovered hair fell to his naked shoulders and framed an impish laughing face. Our elderly host had roasted the coffee beans and passed them round for us to sniff, before pounding them up in a wooden mortar and putting them in the pot. He flavoured his coffee with crushed ginger as is the custom in the Hadhramaut. He also gave us parched grain and beans to eat; all that he had with him, for on such simple fare do the Bedu travel.

080 We lingered with them till the sun was nearly set and then descended past the well, deserted now, except for a bent old woman and two small children, who were loading the last of their water-skins on a young and restive camel. Tomorrow there would be the endless bargaining for camels and arguments with prospective guides, and ahead of us lay all the hardships and difficulties of the desert crossing. But my companions were content, and being happy in the present broke into song as they approached the camp-fires through the dusk.

P 400 (B)

21:Ashkenazi E-4 (no date) 1948 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

619 622 173 [721] defeat, and in the following year marched against the Rwala. This time it was to be finally decided who should command, and therefore the Kwačbe marched with their families, tents, and flocks, and established a war camp, manah, and Haw'a (or al-Hawa) to the east of the settlement of Skâka.[32] The Rwala had previously occupied all the wells for a considerable distance around. The Kwačbe, together with the Sammâr, made several attacks on the encampment of the Rwala, but each time they were repulsed. The Rwala, who were commanded by a war-chief ('azid al-harb) Fheyd eben Ma'abhel, never attacked but so pressed their adversaries closer and closer that they were unable to obtain water anywhere. Then the elders of Kwačbe sent a messenger to Fheyd with a request for peace, and offered the Rwala half their herds. Fheyd agreed and peace was concluded. This harsh war is known as Manah az-Zren, "Battle-camp of the Two Starvations." The Sammâr, the allies of the Kwačbe, did not accept the peace and threatened them with war. Al-Sreyfi then decided that he would acknowledge the supremacy of the Rwala and would join them entirely. His daughter Kut married Fheyd and his Kwačbe encamped together with the Rwala.[33]

Still it is important to note what Burckhardt says of the Seyh of Wuld 'Ali, who in his time had their winter quarters on the Hagg road as far as Kal'at Zerkâ;[34] according to him "their sheikh, is named el Teyar: he occupies the first rank among their chiefs, and is therefore styled Abou el Aeneze, or 'Father of the Aenezes'." [35] According to Lawrence, "Nuri Shaalan, the great Emîr of the Rwala, who after the Sherif [36] and Ibn Saud [36a] and Ibn Rashid [37] was the fourth figure among the precarious princes of the desert." [38]

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32 Sakâka: 50 km northeast of Gowf; Arabic *H.*

33 On the tribe of ar-Rwala consult Musil, *Manners and Customs etc.*; Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, vol. 1, pp. 234, 271, 358, 376, 388, 565; vol. 2, pp. 37, 92, 134, 205, 269, 326; *Les tribus nomades et semi-nomades, etc.*, pp. 19-24; Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, pp. 14-16; Müller, *En Syrie avec les Bédouins*, p. 113; *The Military Handbook, etc.*, p. 53; Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen*, vol. 1, pp. 62-130.

34 Kal'at ez-Zerkâ, close to the spring of that name (Trans-Jordan).

35 Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys*, vol. 1, pp. 3-4.

36 Hussein Eben 'Ali (1856-1931): first king of the Hegâz (1916-1924) and founder of the modern Arab Hshimite dynasty; Grand Sherif of Mecca (1908-1916) as a result of the Young Turk movement. In the World War he first sided with the Turks; later, on advice of his son Feisal and of Colonel T. E. Lawrence, he joined the Allied cause.

36a 'Abd-al-'Aziz ibn-'Abd-er-Rahmân al-Faisal ibn-Sa'ûd (b. 1880?): King of Saudi Arabia (from 1932); born Riyadh, son of 'Abd-er-Rahman; Wahabi sultan of Negd. In World War I he sided with the British against the Turks; invaded and conquered (1924-1925) the Hegâz, forcing abdication of King Husein and his son 'Ali; proclaimed himself King of Hegâz (1926); changed his title from Sultan of Negd to King of the Hegâz and Negd; by decree (1932) he proclaimed the official name of Hegâz and Negd as Kingdom of Saudi

22:Ruswan T-5(ca. 1911-1930)1930 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

group of the Weld 'Ali, for instance, in certain winters wander with their powerful allies, the Ruala, southward to the neighborhood of Teyma', returning north again after their mares and camels have foaled.

The third great natural feature is the chain of hills (Ar-Rawaq, Abu Rijmen, and Jebel Bishri) which stretches in an almost straight line from Damascus to Deyr az-Zor on the Euphrates. Sheep-breeding Bedouins are found north of these hills, camel breeders to the south. The sheep breeders occupy a steppe-like rolling country, rich in pasture which lasts into the beginning of summer. Settled areas are nowhere far distant to east and west, and the tribes occupying these steppes will undoubtedly be the first to establish permanent settlements. As far north as Tel el-Abyadh near the Turkish frontier the writer has noticed members of the Fed'an intermarrying with settlers of that region. Mijhem ibn Mheyd, chief of the Fed'an, owns many villages in Syria, and several thousand of his Bedouins are even now at work in the fields, although the majority prefer tending live stock to plowing. The Tayy, one of the purest, most aristocratic Bedouin tribes from central Arabia, are now found in Mesopotamia, far north near Nisibin, where they seldom fold their tents, pack them on camels, and carry them to new pasture grounds. Half of their tents are "permanently" fixed, with reed and clay walls supporting the goat's-hair canvas. Indeed, the Tayy have become a degenerate people!

The Bedouins with the largest pasture circles (those bordering on the Nafud) will probably survive longest as true nomads. These are the great camel breeders, the Ruala and some of the Shammar, who hold the vast tracts of Al-Hamad and Al-Wudiyan between the Nafud and the northern line of hills.

Political Changes

If the problematical political frontiers between the British and French spheres of influence in northern Arabia are maintained, changes may be expected in the migration territories of the Bedouins. The following, in my opinion, might well take place. The tribes whose territories are now cut by the 30th parallel would split, part of them remaining in Ibn Sa'ud's domains and the rest migrating to the north. The continuance of yearly warfare (for the most part in the spring) between the Zana Muslim (Ruala and Weld 'Ali) and other 'Aneze tribes would finally result in an agreement that would assign to the Ruala who remain in Syria the entire Hamad and western part of Al-Wudiyan. The rest of Al-Wudiyan would be given to the 'Amarat, and the steppe country north of the hills to the Fed'an and Sba'a. First the Fed'an and then the Sba'a would gradually become

22:Raswan T-5(ca. 1911-1930)1930 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

settlers, and the 'Amarat might ultimately be induced by the government of 'Iraq to settle in Mesopotamia after the new irrigation projects have been developed. The Ruala would undoubtedly hold out the longest against any such policy, many of them preferring to perish in skirmishes or return to their brothers in central Arabia rather than adopt the life of the settlers. The Weld 'Ali sheep breeders would settle in the neighborhood of Homs and Hama', and the camel breeders among them would remain with the Ruala.

Three hundred years have sufficed to bring the Bedouin tribes who left their central Arabian homeland to the brink of an abyss in which all the romance, beauty, and liberty of their nomadic life will disappear. Whatever one may think about the "backward, medieval, puritanical" rule of Ibn Sa'ud, the domain of this Wahhabi descendant of the Zana Muslim will some day be the last refuge for the few true Bedouin clans that love the old, free, glamorous, roving life better than the stale and degrading existence of the settlers in territories under French or British control.

NOTES ON THE MAPS[1]

Plate V shows tribal boundaries, natural features, and place names. Owing to the confusion resulting from the overlapping of the tribal areas, Figures 1, 2, and 3 have been added representing these territories as differentiated by shading. On these maps reference numbers are given to the following notes explaining certain points of interest in connection with the movements of each tribe. The place names mentioned in these notes will all be found on Plate V.[2]

Detailed tables revealing the internal subdivisions of the various tribes into subtribes, clans, etc., will be found in "A Handbook of Arabia," pp. 45–95, and also scattered through the various volumes of Alois Musil. In many instances these classifications do not correspond. Since the pages on which the tables are found in Musil's publications are not readily determined from the indexes, the following references are included for the benefit of those wishing to make a critical study of the organization of the tribes whose territories are shown on the accompanying maps:

Figure 1. 'Aneze Tribes. Zana Muslim, including the Ruala and Weld'Ali, A. D., pp. 14–16; Weld'Ali, A. D., p. 84. 'Amarat, A. D., p. 52. Fed'an, A. D., p. 55. Sba'a, P., pp. 55, 91. Weld Sleyman, N. N., p. 95.

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[1] On the maps and in the text of this article Musil's renderings of the spelling of place names and tribal names have, in general, been followed. The transliteration, however, follows the English rather than the continental scheme, even in quotations from Musil's works.

[2] The abbreviations are as follows:

A. D., Alois Musil: Arabia Deserta, *Amer. Geogr. Soc. Oriental Explorations and Studies No. 2*, New York, 1927.

A. P., *idem:* Arabia Petraea, 3 vols., Kaiserliche Akad. der Wiss., Vienna, 1908.

M. E., *idem:* The Middle Euphrates, *Amer. Geogr. Soc. Oriental Explorations and Studies No. 3*, New York, 1927.

N. H., *idem:* The Northern Hejaz, *ibid. No. 1*, New York, 1926.

N. N., *idem:* Northern Nejd, *ibid. No. 5*, New York, 1928.

P., *idem:* Palmyrena, *ibid. No. 4*, New York, 1928.

Handbook, "A Handbook of Arabia." Vol. 1, General, compiled by the Geographical Section of the Naval Intelligence Division, British Admiralty, London, 1930(?).

Doughty, C. M.: Doughty: Travels in Arabia Deserta, 2 vols., London, 1888; 3rd edition, 1923.

101 144 193 that the Sulubba believe that they originated from the Hasa Province, on the Persian Gulf, but I have not heard this story. The few Sulubba I have asked usually replied that they came from an old people who were not Moslems. I imagine, however, that this was merely conjectural; I would not attribute these answers to ancient tradition. Two Sulubba once surprised me by saying that they were descended from Crusaders! But on pressing them for the origin of their statement, they admitted that they had been told so by a French officer in Syria!

101 The Sulubba are to be found in an area extending roughly from Damascus to Mosul in the north, down to Jauf, east of the Nefud, Hail, Persian Gulf, the Euphrates, the Tigris above Baghdad, and Mosul.

101 144 They are scarcely ever found in Trans-Jordan west of the Wadi Sirhan; I believe that they do not exist in the Hejaz or in the western half of Arabia. This distribution might reinforce the legend of their origin from Hasa Province on the Persian Gulf, from which they might well have emigrated north to the more fertile lands in Syria or Iraq, but would have been unlikely to have emigrated to the Hejaz, which is less fertile than the Hasa itself.

563 463 721 The Sulubba have long been regarded by the Beduins as a subject race. Many of them work as tinkers for the Bedúin tribes and perform other menial duties. They have never taken part in the wars and feuds, which have occupied the greater part of the Bedúins' lives for centuries. A Sulubbi, like a woman, was a creature with whom it was too inferior to fight. The Sulubba maintained a strict neutrality in raids, and, for fear of being beaten, told all raiders what they knew of the nature of the country and the movements of their enemies.

29: Glubb--3 G-3 (ca.1935) 1943 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4
Sulubba

651 Until about 1930, the Sulubba paid regular
724 tribute to all the Beduin sheikhs for pro-
563 tection. This did not, however, safeguard them
157 from continual petty pilfering, beatings and insults. Beduin travelers or raiders invariably called at Sulubba tents if they could find them, and demanded food and hospitality. The Beduin, who is normally a model of sedateness and reserved decorum among strangers, exhibited the worst aspects of his character in a Sulubba camp. He shouted, bullied, cursed, and swaggered in a manner sometimes shameful. He demanded the best food, cursed his host, complained of everything, ate all he could and then demanded more food to take with him as supplies for his journey. The Sulubba cowered and whined. Long oppression has indeed made them very low class. The ingratiating whine in which they address the Beduin as "Ya Amaimi," "Oh my little uncle," makes one ashamed of human nature!

837 Prostitution is reputed to be widespread among
548 the women. Whether or not this statement is too sweeping, there can be little doubt that most of them have a very low standard of morals, and are frequently sought by Beduins for immoral purposes. This traffic can scarcely be unknown to their husbands and brothers, but they seem too debased to protest. While there is a good deal of immorality among the Beduins themselves, such offences are kept strictly secret, and any woman creating a scandal is likely to be murdered. Only the Sulubba seem to be shameless in this respect.

221 The Sulubba are par excellence the children of
[10] the desert. Every Sulubbi is nicknamed by the Beduins "Abu al Khala" or "Father of the empty spaces." If the Beduin, compared to the townsmen, is a hardy traveler at home in the great desert, he is but a pampered tenderfoot compared to the Sulubba. Often in summer, when the great Beduin

221 camps move to the Euphrates, or on to the main groups of wells around which cluster tented towns of hundreds of families, odd Sulubba families will remain far out in the desert, [312] drinking from some tiny water hole in a lonely ravine known only to the Sulubba themselves. There they will live almost the lives of wild animals, with only a few sheep or donkeys, hunting gazelle and often dressing in their skins.

224 [262] 290 463 The Sulubba alone knows the wild animal life of the desert intimately. As a gazelle hunter, his skill is incredible, and many live very largely on gazelle meat and dress in their skins. The Beduins often employ the Sulubba as guides in the desert or consult them regarding routes, grazing, or camping grounds.

433 251 Apart from hunting gazelle, and menial work for the Beduins, the Sulubba also live by grazing and breeding animals. Some of them are prosperous and own large flocks of sheep. They have a few camels, but their most distinctive possessions are the white asses. Probably the Sulubba originally bred asses rather than camels for riding purposes, because if they had any good camels the Beduins were likely to covet them. But since no Beduin would stoop to ride an ass, the Sulubba were left in undisputed possession. Some of these animals have marvellously swift paces, and are almost as capable of resisting thirst as is the camel.

721 178 During the last ten years, the desert belonging to Iraq, Syria, and Trans-Jordan has been brought under Government control. As a result the Beduins are no longer able to bully the Sulubba quite as unrestrainedly as before and the latter are learning to complain to the police when they are beaten or abused.

563 797 721 In 1919-22, the recrudescence of Wahhabism in central Arabia produced a tremendous outburst

797 of religious enthusiasm and fanaticism. The
563 Beduin manifested his enthusiasm by declaring
721 that all Moslems were equal before God, and hence that the Sulubba were equal to "free men," i.e. Beduins. Ibn Saud, anxious to increase his fighting men, backed this idea (in fact he may have originated it), and raised fighting forces from the Sulubba and gave them war banners. The Sulubba took part in a number of war-like operations, and it was said that, in the massacres which usually followed a Wahhabi victory at this time, the Sulubba were the most cruel and bloodthirsty.

The outbreak of fanaticism, however, died down from 1925 to 1929, and it is believed that these Nejd Sulubba have again fallen back to their original condition.

342 In order to escape unwelcome Beduin guests,
574 the Sulubba live in tiny tents, many of them
563 scarcely larger than a blanket. They show great
609 skill in pitching these tents in the beds of ravines or behind rocks so as to be invisible to passers-by. The more important Beduin sheikhs take pride in pitching a large tent in a prominent place, which conveys not only defiance of enemies but a distant welcome to guests. According to Beduin interpretation the Sulubba reveals his baseness by concealing his camp from both strangers and guests.

Sulailat

101 These consist of a tribal section, who
563 usually camp with the Amarat branch of the Anaiza in the Iraqi desert west of the Euphrates. These people are said to be descended from a man of the Anaiza tribe, who married a Sulubba

000 ordinary Beduin. While the Beduin is very
156 jealous of his dignity in public, the Sherari is often prepared to make himself ridiculous for the amusement of his betters or in hopes of a reward. He is sometimes quite amusing, and is famous for his rather vulgar and undignified but irrepressible and often pointed witticisms (rather like the London cockney).

221 Like the Sulubba, the Sherarat, who are more
463 intimate with the desert than the real Beduins,
511 are excellent guides. They too prefer to spend the summer far away in the desert, beside some distant water-hole known only to themselves. It is not uncommon to meet a Sherari and his wife with a flock of camels deep in the desert, with no tent and no gear, living on the milk of the camels and sleeping in the open. The Beduins require more luxury, and after living thus for a short time, begin to want food, coffee, and a tent.

563 While the Sherarat thus bear a good deal of
●721 resemblance to the Sulubba socially, unlike the latter they carry arms and defend themselves
[651] from attack. Until recently, however, they paid tribute to the Beduins in whose areas they encamped. Sherarat, living as servants with Beduins, will accompany their masters on raiding parties, something to which the Sulubba were prohibited.

During the past decade in the Jauf area, Ibn Saud has aimed at raising the status of the Sherarat, doubtless with a view to increasing his fighting men.

231 The Sherarat, who own great numbers of camels,
511 used to be famous for the quality of their swift riding camels. Although some individuals are comparatively wealthy, they spend very little, live only in tiny tents, wear ragged clothes, and beg, cadge, or hire themselves out as laborers or carriers.

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
BEDOUINS MJ 4

609 northern Hasa; and there are certain districts, containing but few
486 wells, where several tribes, each having a right of watering, cross and recross each other's dīras, without committing thereby acts of trespass, though not without engendering frequent friction. Such, for example, are the steppe west of Jebel Shammar and that north-east of the same district towards the lower Euphrates valley. For the right of crossing a dīra the traveller is expected to pay in money or kind to the chief, who often drives a very hard bargain, but should not be regarded as levying blackmail. After all, in return for the payment, he and his tribe concede protection and allow the traveller to consume some of their very scanty supply of fodder and
621 water. All Arab society is patriarchal. Some one man can answer for each unit, and among the best Arabs for very large units. The traveller's chief danger arises where tribes are small or so broken up that not more than one or two families recognize a chief.

486 There is, however, one recognized exception to this sanctity of
721 dīras, namely, the right of every tribe, or even section of a tribe, to
577 raid any other according to a well-established code of warfare, unless barred by definite federation, treaty, or ancient friendship. To go
621 out on raid (*ghazwah*) is the young man's chance of proving himself, and to provide him with that opportunity is virtually obligatory on all tribes, except the meanest. The greater chiefs, like their ancient cousins, the Assyrian kings, make an annual practice of the Raid. The farther afield it goes, the greater the glory in a society punctiliously sensitive to public opinion. Raiding parties may, therefore, be met very far from the ranges of their own people, and no district is quite safe from them. They may generally be recognized by their travelling light, without women, and on high-bred camels. The *rafiq* is powerless against them in his own dīra, except possibly through some lucky friendship on his part or the repute of his tribe. But raiding parties are not very particular. They will swoop down on a caravan without asking many questions or being much disposed to respect persons. Unless the traveller's party is very decidedly stronger than the attack, it should submit at once. Most of its belongings will be taken, but no life. Such submission is a well-recognized part of the game, and entails no slur on the courage of any members of the party.

486 The more the traveller can learn and retain in his mind of the
181 genealogy of individuals and tribes, in a land where pedigrees are very widely known back to a hoar antiquity and inordinately valued,
574 the better for his safety and the impression he will make and leave on his hosts. He should know also, as far as possible, the political grouping of tribes and recent desert history. If, like Doughty, he

2: Codrai G-8 (1948-1950) 1950 MK1 Oman
Trucial Oman MK4
Bedouin MJ4

To 369 162 439 443 [181]

ladies' lingerie, but he has little use for some of the strange products of the West. For the townsman, who is living in a mixed community of Arabs from many parts of the Persian Gulf, Persians and Indians, it is a different proposition, and his materialism has made Dibai a small British export area, though mostly for the less refined goods that are unable to find buyers on a more discriminating market.

B 101 186 721 661

The primitive bedouins who live by the foothills of the main mountain range, who owe allegiance to no one, are a constant cause of worry to the sheikhs, from whom they extract levies in return for protection; if the money is not forthcoming they raid the villages and carry off goods, camels and children. On the whole, however, the people of the coast seem to have a peaceful enough existence, making their living by, among other things, pearling, fishing and boat-building.

To 361 396 226

To 312 576

At several points along the coast the wells are some distance inland, and water has to be transported to the villages by camel or donkey. Though brackish and unpalatable, it is expensive; the cost of buying water is a burden on the poor, and they take only sufficient for their minimum needs. Even so, the water-pot is always at hand when a traveller passes by — a simple hospitality that is often very touching. The lot of the dogs, a wretched one at the best of times in the

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P. 191 (B)

Si Cadral G-3 (1948-1950) 1950 MK1 Omar
Trucial Oman MK4
Bedouin MJ4

000 Arab World, is made ghastly by this local scarcity of water, and they can be seen watching, and sometimes licking, the gloss which is the only indication of a slight trickle from a hole in the side of a house. At other times they try to keep cool by lying at the edge of the sea, until their thirst proves too great, and they take their last drink.

TO 162 567 191 595 144

Slavery still Exists

The population is predominantly Arab, but Persians, Baluchis, Somalis and Negroes make up a considerable section of the coast-dwellers. Many of the latter are slaves, and in this polyglot society, practising polygamy and concubinage, the Arab's blood is seldom free from non-Arab strains. Although the importation of slaves from Africa and Persia is officially said to have been abolished, there is no reason to suppose that this form of trading has ceased entirely; for Britain no longer exercises her right to search vessels, and the chances of any law-breaker getting caught are very small. In addition, children are still abducted from their villages by bedouin raiders, and are sold in the market at Biraimi, the neutral region in the desert about one hundred miles to the

B 721 TO 721 561

P. 192(A)

E: Codral G-3 (1948-1960) 1960 MK1 Oman
Trucial Oman MK4
Bedouin MJ4

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721
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567

south of Sharjah. Certificates stating that they have been born into slavery (a lucrative business for the signatories) are purchased by their owners and the unfortunate victims may then be legally transferred elsewhere in 'Oman, or even to Saudi Arabia, where they are said to fetch a higher price. Most of the slaves who are the children of slaves are well treated, and are faithful to their masters, so that their existence is often a better one than that of the poorer 'Omanis.

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Within the next few years the search for oil is going to open-up this little-known country, and 'Westernization' will suddenly appear before its people: but, with conditions as they are, it will be some time before the way is prepared for the geologists and drillers. In the meantime, their appetites wetted by concession subsidies, the rulers of the Trucial Coast are fixing the boundaries of their lands, in order to avoid battle in the event of "liquid-gold" being found. In 'Oman proper it is more difficult, and unless the Imam and those in control of the rebel tribes can be won over, they may be expected to oppose not only the oil people but the Sultan himself.

TO
[131]

p. 192(B)